

STATEMENT OF INFORMATION :  
APPENDIX IV

---

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

H. Res. 803

A RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING AND DIRECTING THE COMMITTEE  
ON THE JUDICIARY TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER SUFFICIENT  
GROUNDS EXIST FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO  
EXERCISE ITS CONSTITUTIONAL POWER TO IMPEACH

RICHARD M. NIXON  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

---

POLITICAL MATTERS MEMORANDA

August 13, 1971–September 18, 1972



MAY–JUNE 1974

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1974

## COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

PETER W. RODINO, JR., New Jersey, *Chairman*

HAROLD D. DONOHUE, Massachusetts  
JACK BROOKS, Texas  
ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER, Wisconsin  
DON EDWARDS, California  
WILLIAM L. HUNGATE, Missouri  
JOHN CONYERS, JR., Michigan  
JOSHUA EILBERG, Pennsylvania  
JEROME R. WALDIE, California  
WALTER FLOWERS, Alabama  
JAMES R. MANN, South Carolina  
PAUL S. SARBANES, Maryland  
JOHN F. SEIBERLING, Ohio  
GEORGE E. DANIELSON, California  
ROBERT F. DRINAN, Massachusetts  
CHARLES B. RANGEL, New York  
BARBARA JORDAN, Texas  
RAY THORNTON, Arkansas  
ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN, New York  
WAYNE OWENS, Utah  
EDWARD MEZVINSKY, Iowa

EDWARD HUTCHINSON, Michigan  
ROBERT MCCLORY, Illinois  
HENRY P. SMITH III, New York  
CHARLES W. SANDMAN, JR., New Jersey  
TOM RAILSBACK, Illinois  
CHARLES E. WIGGINS, California  
DAVID W. DENNIS, Indiana  
HAMILTON FISH, JR., New York  
WILEY MAYNE, Iowa  
LAWRENCE J. HOGAN, Maryland  
M. CALDWELL BUTLER, Virginia  
WILLIAM S. COHEN, Maine  
TRENT LOTT, Mississippi  
HAROLD V. FROEHLICH, Wisconsin  
CARLOS J. MOORHEAD, California  
JOSEPH J. MARAZITI, New Jersey  
DELBERT L. LATTA, Ohio

JOHN DOAR, *Special Counsel*

SAMUEL GARRISON III, *Special Counsel to the Minority*  
ALBERT E. JENNER, JR., *Senior Associate Special Counsel*  
JOSEPH A. WOODS, JR., *Senior Associate Special Counsel*  
RICHARD CATES, *Senior Associate Special Counsel*  
BERNARD W. NUSSBAUM, *Senior Associate Special Counsel*  
ROBERT D. SACK, *Senior Associate Special Counsel*  
ROBERT A. SHELTON, *Associate Special Counsel*

FRED H. ALTSHULER, *Counsel*  
THOMAS BELL, *Counsel*  
W. PAUL BISHOP, *Counsel*  
ROBERT L. BROWN, *Counsel*  
MICHAEL M. CONWAY, *Counsel*  
RUFUS CORMIER, *Special Assistant*  
E. LEE DALE, *Counsel*  
JOHN B. DAVIDSON, *Counsel*  
EVAN A. DAVIS, *Counsel*  
CONSTANTINE J. GEKAS, *Counsel*  
RICHARD H. GILL, *Counsel*  
DAGMAR HAMILTON, *Counsel*  
DAVID HANES, *Special Assistant*  
JOHN E. KENNAHAN, *Counsel*  
TERRY R. KIRKPATRICK, *Counsel*  
JOHN R. LABOVITZ, *Counsel*  
LAWRENCE LUCCHINO, *Counsel*  
R. L. SMITH MCKEITHEN, *Counsel*  
ALAN MARER, *Counsel*

ROBERT P. MURPHY, *Counsel*  
JAMES B. F. OLIPHANT, *Counsel*  
RICHARD H. PORTER, *Counsel*  
GEORGE RAYBORN, *Counsel*  
JAMES REUM, *Counsel*  
HILLARY D. RODHAM, *Counsel*  
STEPHEN A. SHARP, *Counsel*  
EILEEN SILVERSTEIN, *Counsel*  
JARED STAMELL, *Counsel*  
ROSCOE B. STAREK III, *Counsel*  
GARY W. SUTTON, *Counsel*  
EDWARD S. SZUKELEWICZ, *Counsel*  
THEODORE R. TETZLAFF, *Counsel*  
ROBERT J. TRAINOR, *Counsel*  
J. STEPHEN WALKER, *Counsel*  
BEN A. WALLIS, JR., *Counsel*  
WILLIAM WELD, *Counsel*  
WILLIAM A. WHITE, *Counsel*  
JOHN WHITMAN, *Counsel*

## CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Introductory Note.....	iii
August 13, 1971.....	1
September 18, 1971.....	5
September 24, 1971.....	11
October 7, 1971.....	15
October 27, 1971.....	23
Attachment.....	32
November 16, 1971.....	49
December 2, 1971.....	57
December 6, 1971.....	63
December 16, 1971.....	69
January 18, 1972.....	75
February 1, 1972.....	81
February 16, 1972.....	87
March 3, 1972.....	93
Attachment.....	98
May 16, 1972.....	105
June 6, 1972.....	113
June 29, 1972.....	117
July 29, 1972.....	125
August 11, 1972.....	135
September 18, 1972.....	143
Attachment.....	151



### INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This volume contains nineteen memoranda written by Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman in 1971 and 1972. The memoranda were regularly prepared by Strachan from documents and information which he obtained from the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

Strachan testified before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities that he prepared a total of twenty-eight Political Matters Memoranda. He further testified that after the Watergate break-in he destroyed memorandum number eighteen. Of the twenty-seven remaining memoranda, the White House furnished to the House Judiciary Committee twenty-one memoranda and certain of the attachments to them.

Nineteen Political Matters Memoranda and three attachments are cited as evidence for the Committee's Statements of Information, Summary of Information, and Report. These memoranda and attachments are included in this volume. Material which is irrelevant or defamatory has been deleted under direction of the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member prior to publication.



AUGUST 13, 1971

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

WH

Administratively Confidential

August 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

196000

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

G

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

It might be helpful for you to review the recent activities and thoughts of those on the White House Staff and at Citizens who are most involved with political matters. Recent discussions with Magruder, Flemming, Dent, Timmons, Cole, Buchanan, and Colson (Howard) developed the following comments and materials:

1) Colson submitted more Harris gossip on Lindsay. His points are that Tully Plessner is doing the polling, Irwin Miller (Cummins Engine) the financing, and the New York Media the promoting (memo at Tab A);

2) Dent comments on two pending Presidential decisions (textiles and bussing) that will have a substantial bearing on the President's ability to carry the South in 1972. Dent has covered these points with the Attorney General, George Shultz, and John Ehrlichman. Dent has also attached Dick Richards' most recent memorandum. (These memoranda are attached at Tab B.);

3) Timmons is travelling to San Diego this weekend on the Attorney General's behalf. The trip will be "low key". Timmons task force on Convention format has not yet met, but Chapin is pushing;

4) Flemming is in New Hampshire where he will be talking with Lane Dwinell about the possibility of being the Nixon Chairman for 1972. News reports on McCloskey's trip to New Hampshire indicated that he had been met by Governor Peterson and Stewart Lamprey. Flemming checked the Attorney General who said he knew of no problem between Governor Peterson and the White House. Flemming asks on behalf of the Attorney General whether you know of any problem;

5) Cole reports that John Ehrlichman has received "full responsibility from the President" for the development of the platform for the 1972 Republican Convention. It is

WH

WH

also Cole's understanding that "the budget will be the platform". Ken Cole met the day before yesterday with Jeb Magruder and Bill Timmons just to make sure that it was clearly understood that Ehrlichman's office had responsibility for the development of the platform. Cole reports that in addition to the standard budget dictates of the platform, he will be working with Chuck Colson for the development of specific items aimed at individual voting groups. Cole emphasized that the project was in the very early stages and doubted there would be anything on paper for the next several months. There will not be regularly scheduled meetings of Cole, Colson, Timmons, and Magruder. However, all dealings with the RNC about the platform will be done by Citizens instead of Ehrlichman's operation;

6) Buchanan submitted memoranda to you and the Attorney General concerning the Presidential contenders. Theory and specific tactics are discussed. The Attorney General will want to discuss these memoranda (attached at Tab C) with you according to Magruder. 000962

Pursuant to your request on Tuesday, Buchanan, Chapin, Walker and I met on Wednesday and developed our oral recommendations for political intelligence and covert activities;

7) Magruder met with the Attorney General today for one hour and covered the following matters:

a) Compass Systems Inc., which Bob Finch, Sam Wiley, and Put Livermore were interested in is now to be financed (\$65,000) by Citizens;

b) Magruder will seek information on how to keep McCloskey off the Florida Republican primary ballot;

c) The Democrats 1972 Sponsor's Club will have a Citizens sponsored (\$72 per month) member;

d) Citizens mail will be answered by the RNC; only high level offers of assistance and White House and Administration referrals will be handled directly by Citizens;

e) Dom Bonafede of the National Journal will do a story on Citizens based on written questions submitted to Magruder;

f) Ken Rietz will attend former Governor Winthrop Rockefeller's 'Salute to the New Voter'; Rietz will not

WH



AUGUST 13, 1971

-3-

WH

discuss issues or policy;

g) The Attorney General will contact the IRS about the tax exempt status of the National Movement for the Student Vote, which opposes the President;

h) Ken Rietz will go to New Hampshire to organize young voters as soon as the Nixon Chairman for 1972 is selected;

i) The Attorney General has directed Magruder to talk with Haig about what conservatives can say in support of the President's decision to go to China. Magruder will relay this to Salvatori who will talk to Reagan. The Attorney General asks whether other conservative leaders should be programmed through the White House to make similar supporting statements. If so, should Colson have the responsibility?

\_\_\_\_\_ Program conservatives through  
Colson at the White House

\_\_\_\_\_ Other

000963

j) YAF will hold its national Convention in Houston Texas on September 2-5, 1971. The Attorney General wants Buchanan to go, but seeks your advice.

\_\_\_\_\_ Buchanan goes

\_\_\_\_\_ No White House Staff (including  
Buchanan) to go

\_\_\_\_\_ Other

The Attorney General "feels strongly" that Klein's office should facilitate the flow of the Administration line to conservative publications (Human Events, National Review, and Battle Line). Klein currently assists Harrison Salisbury with the New York Times Op Ed page.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

The Attorney General also "feels strongly" that the Philadelphia Society of the 100 top academic conservatives should begin receiving "White House" treatment (e.g. invitation lists, commissions, and calls).

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

WH

WH

k) The RNC special Delegates and Organizations Committee has prepared a list of recommendations on the GOP convention, and party structure. Timmons has summarized their recommendations and Magruder submitted them to the Attorney General for decision. A copy of the memo is attached at Tab D;

l) Timmons and Odle have been asked to develop an analysis of the status of Democratic Party reform and suggest possible action items;

m) Rita Hauser believes she will be the women's chairman for Nixon, though the Attorney General has not yet decided. She has submitted a very long analysis of the women's vote which the Attorney General has not yet read;

n) Odle is watching the Michigan Conservative Party situation for the Attorney General but has suggested no action steps;

o) Citizens will not hire Dick Richards because Tom Evans would not accept that alternative. Magruder will tell Richards to go back to Utah;000964

p) Magruder learned that Bob Finch held a meeting at the California Club in Los Angeles on Monday or Tuesday. Finch and Leonard Firestone reviewed how they would handle the California Campaign for the benefit of those attending the meeting. The Attorney General had not heard of the meeting, was upset, and will probably call Finch in the near future;

q) The Attorney General asked Magruder to contact Klein about no further comments on the Convention; the Attorney General was pleased to learn that the same point had been made in the 8:15 a.m. meeting;

r) The Attorney General did not know that the RNC had a \$350,000 research budget and has directed Magruder to get the complete back up information. No decision has been reached as to how to handle the projected \$2 million RNC deficit;

s) The Secretary Stans \$1 million descretionary fund is the non-earmarked funds within the departments. These funds have been used for briefings, conferences, and advertising expenditures. These departmental funds would also be used for the retention of potential Campaign employees.

WH

6  
SEPTEMBER 18, 1971

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

September 18, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

Recent developments that you may find of interest are:

1) Finances -- Kalmbach called on September 15 to report that Kent Smith, who is in for 250, asked him to raise an "intelligence matter concerning a professor at Case Western Reserve University"; the Professor is legitimate according to Dr. Ed David. Kalmbach plans on raising the details with you at his meeting next Tuesday.

Kalmbach confirmed that Harold McClure, Jr., the National Committeeman from Michigan, is in for 50; Max Fisher will come in for 250, though the "close" by Kalmbach will come later.

Secretary Stans met with Lee Nunn, Hugh Sloan, Patrick Dugan, and Lang Washburn on Wednesday, September 15 to review the current campaign finance situation and to make plans for Campaign 1972. Stans had prepared fourteen guidelines which will be revised for review by you and the Attorney General next Tuesday. Stans maintains that he has not accepted full responsibility for the finances for Campaign 1972, but all who are working with him assume he will at the appropriate time. Indicative of Stans' leadership is his directive to Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan to: a) prepare projected budgets for the Campaign to the Convention and from the Convention through the election; b) contact Tom Evans of New York about the position of Counsel to the Finance Committee, and; c) stop worrying about the RNFC fund raising letter that will net little cash.

One discouraging note is the Charles Bartlett article that appeared in the Star on September 14 indicating that Stans would become President of the World Bank if he assumed the Campaign Finance role. Kalmbach was surprised and dismayed that this matter, which he had been handling, had leaked.

000041

2) Magruder's Projects --

OK a) Your comment that it was "ridiculous" for Magruder to "staff up" with an individual for "blacks" was explained. However, he is receiving authority from the Attorney General to hire individuals for other voting groups. For example, in spite of your reservations (which Magruder conveyed to the Attorney General) about Rita Hauser as a New York Jewish Democrat in the Campaign, she will begin full time in January, but will be heavily involved before then. Also, Larry Goldberg from Rhode Island will begin work on October 1 at the Committee to work with the Jewish community pursuant to Max Fisher's memorandum to the Attorney General. Magruder also plans to hire an "aide" to assist him with administrative detail. The two likeliest prospects are Bob Herrema from Senator Weicker's staff or Curt Herge from Midge, Rose;

✓ b) The Attorney General will hold a breakfast meeting on October 2 in California to "lay down the law". The attendees are unknown to Magruder;

So I assume you will attend? If so, you should have said so -- be specific  
c) The Attorney General's next "political meeting" with Rumsfeld, Kleindienst, LaRue, Flemming, and Magruder is scheduled for Thursday, September 23. This will be their first meeting since you and the Attorney General determined on July 2 that it would be advantageous for me to attend as your representative;

✓ d) After some confusion this week Magruder, Colson, Chapin, and Bull agreed upon a method to handle surrogate candidates through November 7, 1972. Bull's memorandum, which Chapin submitted to you yesterday, covers this subject in great detail. Basically, "political scheduling" (Martha Mitchell, fund raisers, campaign endorsement trips, etc.) will be handled by the Committee while Colson's operation retains control of all "non-political scheduling" (legitimate Cabinet inspection trips, speaking engagements, and official appearances);

✓ e) A plant will be in Muskie headquarters beginning October 1;

✓ f) The Attorney General has decided not to keep McCloskey's name off the ballot in Florida because the President will win easily and make McCloskey look weak. However, an attempt may be made to keep Wallace off the Florida ballot to help Jackson cut into Muskie's lead;

000042

*G-7 11/23*

g) Cliff Miller and Magruder suggested that Georg Babbe be considered as Campaign Manager in California. No decision has been made; *get a naked reading on him*

h) Pursuant to your request, Magruder emphasized the importance of putting a high percentage of responsible people under the age of 30 on the state committees. The Attorney General agreed;

i) The RNC \$350,000 research budget has been explained to the Attorney General in some detail by Magruder. Basically, \$150,000 has gone to 18 states to assist in legislative redistricting; \$130,000 has been budgeted for development of software and data reporting capabilities in various states. The \$65,000 balance is not yet committed;

j) The Richard A. Viguerie Company is being considered as the contractor for the direct mail fund solicitation function. The Evans & Novak column on the link between Viguerie and the "Friends of the FBI" and "Americans for Agnew" Committees is untrue. The "Friends of the FBI" and "Americans for Agnew" are run by Lee Edwards and Pat Gorman;

k) The press policy of the Committee for the Re-election of the President is increasingly important in light of the two recent articles in the National Journal on polling and the campaign strategy. You indicated you wanted to cover this with the Attorney General and a talking paper is attached;

l) Ken Rietz, who is organizing Young Voters for the President, attended former Governor Winthrop Rockefeller's "New Voter Day at Winrock", Arkansas. Rietz did not speak, but Ed Harper of the Domestic Council did, apparently very well. The President received a vote of confidence when the Convention attendees voted;

m) David Keene of the Vice President's staff submitted a report on the YAF Convention in Houston. The report recounts the disasters and points out the facts known to all: the conservatives have substantive policy complaints and cosmetics won't work;

### 3) RNC Convention: Timmons--

a) Timmons has been acting as chairman of Magruder's task force on the RNC Convention; he is spending a good deal of

000043

time on the project. The Attorney General requests your decision as Chief of Staff as to whether or not Timmons can continue to commit blocks of his time to the Convention. The Attorney General would prefer to have Timmons continue. Timmons believes he can handle both the Convention and his Congressional Relations responsibilities.

G-7 JST 9/21

                    H                     Timmons continues AG agrees

                     Timmons to be replaced as the Attorney General's man for the RNC Convention

                     Other Clk H. Rep.

9/23 b) Timmons has submitted to the Attorney General a memorandum requesting decisions on the size of Campaign staff, financial arrangements for guests, and possible VIPs that may have to be housed in San Diego. The Attorney General has not acted on this memorandum; Can we please see a copy

c) Timmons submitted a memorandum to Jeb Magruder regarding Convention Appointments. The appointments range from Chairman of the Platform Committee (John Rhodes is recommended by Timmons and Ehrlichman) to Floor Leader, Rules, etc. Timmons believes that you, the Attorney General and the President may wish to review this entire package of 13 appointments. The Attorney General has not yet reviewed the materials. At your next meeting with the Attorney General I will give you the package with a talking paper: to stand now

9/23  
4/14  
Pepn

4) Harry Dent -- Several items have been submitted including state analyses that you have already read and state polls that are not usually reviewed by you. Two matters deserve your attention:

a) The Kentucky Governor's Race can be won by Republican Tom Emberton according to Dent. However, Governor Louie Nunn is seeking a 200 to 300 commitment from here for television during the closing weeks of the campaign. As you will recall from your discussion with the Attorney General this morning, this would not be a loan. The amount discussed was 100 and you were to check with the President. If he disagreed with releasing the money you and the Attorney General were to discuss it in a meeting with the President; b) The Kissinger briefing of the

have  
confirmed  
to AG

000044

Billy Graham group received excellent coverage in Southern Baptist and other religious publications.

5) Monitoring of Democrats -- Colson submitted a memorandum expressing surprise and dismay that we did not have a list of the attendees of the Muskie "fat cat" weekend (we did have such a list and sent a copy to him). His other concern is that no arrangements have been made to tape record all of Muskie's statements, including the "off-hand" comments. Colson suggested that Nofziger arrange for this but Lyn said he had no money for this type of project.

The most recent EMK report has been submitted. It contains nothing.

The question is whether or not the subject of intelligence shouldn't receive a greater allocation of time and resources than it is receiving now. *Why?*

H Yes, more resources, ~~discuss orally with me~~

*Early next go to what?*

                     No, maintain current level of inactivity;

                     Other

✓ 6) The detailed demographic comparison of the last four ORC polls on Presidential popularity is attached. It includes the new break-of party and ideology that you requested;

✓ 7) National Journal -- The National Journal has done two articles on the "Florida Primary" and "Common Cause". Clean unmarked copies are attached. The Florida primary article is detailed but deserving of your time. The Common Cause article is the best in depth study done to date. There is nothing new except that Barbara Laird, wife of the Secretary of Defense, and David Packard are now listed as members.

8) Tom Evans of the RNC forwarded the results of the RNC Delaware study. In late June and early July, 601 registered voters were personally interviewed. The three most important issues are the Vietnam War (61.6%), the inflation/recession economic issue (25.5%), and drugs (25%). 56.6% believe that the country is worse off today than three years ago. In trial heats, the President received 33%, Muskie 24% and the undecided is listed as 42%, which the RNC believes

000046

SEPTEMBER 18, 1971

-6-

is an accurate undecided level. The President's approval rating is 56%, with disapproval at 32% and 11% don't know. The results are detailed by county and problem but not demographics.

Tom Evans wonders whether it would be useful to re-interview some of the 601 respondents. The additional cost is \$1,500. He has not raised the subject with the Attorney General. My recommendation is that you do not indicate approval of the additional expenditure as that is within the Attorney General's province.

G → JSM 9/21

G → Tom  
Evans 9/23

Not  
going to  
do it

*H.*

Agree

Disagree

Comment

000046



SEPTEMBER 24, 1971

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

September 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

Recent developments that you may find of interest are:

1) Finances -- Kalmbach told me he appreciated the opportunity to meet with you on September 21. A review of decisions and subsequent developments includes:

**G → K id!** ✓ a) Stans cannot be assured any particular post if he becomes Nixon Finance Chairman, but something of the calibre of the World Bank would be expected; *It will not be World Bank*

✓ b) All of Stans requests upon departure would be accepted except his desire to delay his departure from Commerce. It is the Attorney General's view that it might be advantageous to delay Stans' departure until after the campaign spending legislation becomes final. These matters should be covered when you meet with the Attorney General and Stans to reach an "understanding";

✓ c) Kalmbach will obtain from Stans a list of the 1968 commitments which are frequently mentioned to you without specifics;

✓ d) Stans postponed the meeting of the finance people (Nunn, Sloan, Dugan, Washburn) until September 29. Kalmbach will not attend as he wishes to retain his role of reporting directly to you. The Stans meeting will review the current financial situation (1,400 received, 400 spent), the Campaign budget, and the participants' responsibilities;

✓ e) You told Kalmbach you would cover the 800 special fund with the Attorney General;

✓ f) At Kalmbach's meeting with the Attorney General on September 21, he was informed that "sandwedge" has been put on "hold" as there is concern about the structuring of the project;

000048

g) DeRoulet and Symington -- You agreed with Kalmbach that their 100 each should be returned since the European commitments cannot now be met. Kalmbach had lunch with DeRoulet in New York on September 22. The repayment because of non-delivery on the European ambassadorship was covered by Kalmbach and DeRoulet was "really upset". However, the C.V. Whitney move to Spain was not covered, and since DeRoulet wants to meet with you while he is in the U.S. for the next ten days, Kalmbach believes you should cover the C.V. Whitney/Spain matter. DeRoulet will see Flanigan on September 24, and Kalmbach expects Flanigan to be "ham-handed" in emphasizing to DeRoulet that a European post is out. Kalmbach hopes that either Malta or Mexico may be "doable" in 1973;

*120  
G7 Pat 9/27  
G7 Kalmbach  
4/30*

h) Firestone for 100, Schreiber for 100, and Jules Stein for 150 are in on the condition that the money will be used in California;

i) The only commitment that Kalmbach is aware of at this time is Farcas for Costa Rica;

j) In spite of Kalmbach's 1,200 European trip, there is no assurance on those posts after 1973;

k) I have asked General Haig to call Professor Edward Glaser, the friend of Dr. Ed David, about the "intelligence matter" referred to by Kalmbach while discussing Kent Smith;

l) You were going to check with the President whether or not the San Clemente maintenance should be changed from Lynch to Gavin Herbert;

*File in  
a note  
on this*

m) The site selection project is on hold.

2) RNC Convention --

a) Network coverage will be gavel-to-gavel each day by CBS and NBC. They hope the Convention begins at 4:30 PDT so live coverage can begin at 7:30 EDT. ABC will begin at 9:30 EDT and continue to the close of the session. CBS and ABC have scheduled "specials" for Sunday, August 20, 1972;

000049

- ✓ b) The Attorney General agrees that Timmons should continue to act as Chairman of Magruder's task force on the RNC Convention;
- ✓ c) The Timmons memorandum for Magruder on hotel accommodations, transportation, and seating is attached at Tab A per your request;
- ✓ d) The Ehrlichman and Timmons recommendations for Convention Appointments is attached with a talking paper for the Attorney General at Tab B.

3) Magruder's Projects --

- ✓ a) Magruder will attempt to implement Buchanan's suggestions for Muskie's trip to Chicago and Milwaukee this weekend. The suggestions include: Black pickets with "Conyers for President", "No Bigots for President", etc.; leaflets in the South Side encouraging demonstrations at the Hilton where Muskie will speak; letters to Chicago papers, and an Ogilvie statement hitting Muskie on his black Vice Presidential statement and pro-busing stand;
- ✓ b) The Attorney General cancelled the "political meeting" with Rumsfeld, Kleindienst, LaRue, Flemming, and Magruder. I shall attend when it is again on the Attorney General's schedule;
- ✓ c) Press policy at the Committee for the Re-Election of the President includes: Francis Dale as the official for quotation spokesman; the Attorney General or Magruder in a "minor situation" will determine whether or not Magruder should talk with the press on a background basis; any involvement by the Attorney General is denied; no one besides Magruder may speak with the press; Martha Mitchell receives help from the Committee because the Committee would "help any key Republican"; Nunn and Sloan are raising day-to-day expenses only; a Committee Press Spokesman will be added in January.

4) Harry Dent's Recommendations are as follows --

- ✓ a) The Vice President should sign the Gerald Ford Congressional Committee fund raising letter if the draft were changed to delete the negativism and hucksterism;
- b) Congressman Jim McClure should receive White House support in his attempt to replace Jordan of Idaho in 1972. The Vice President's office (Art Sohmer) has been advised;

*What does that imply?*

000050

SEPTEMBER 24, 1971

-4-

✓ c) He is increasingly concerned that the Attorney General is not spending enough time on the hard organizational decisions: Harry Flemming is doing only the most obvious, lightweight work; the "political meetings" (last one held on June 30) are not reaching decisions; there are no regional men active yet, etc. Dent believes that the Attorney General is just too busy with his Justice, domestic policy, and NSC responsibilities. He has no "political staff" at Justice and is simply inundated with pending Campaign decisions submitted by Magruder.

✓ Subjects that you have raised with the Attorney General that indicate he is too busy include: state by state Campaign leader dinners, recommendations on state leader assignments, and a strategy for the primaries.

✓ Magruder concurs that the Attorney General is too busy and has not been able to focus on the accumulating hard Campaign decisions.

000051

OCTOBER 7, 1971  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 7, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

*MS*  
*Down good*  
*A bit too*  
*detailed but*  
*100% better*  
*than before*  
*L.*

Finances

1) Secretary Stans met with Hugh Sloan, Lee Nunn, and Herb Falmbach on September 29. They reviewed Stans' fourteen points concerning financial control of the Campaign. Stans sent Hugh Sloan to the Attorney General with fourteen points and the joint Attorney General-Stans decisions are:

- 1) The Budget Committee will have representatives from the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of the President, but the Campaign Chairman makes the final decisions;
- 2) Outside groups (e.g. Businessmen for Nixon) will be self-sustaining;
- 3) Any Citizens organization will be merely a division of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President instead of an independent unit;
- 4) There will be no fund raising activities until after the November 9 RNC dinners. The RNFC will be controlled by the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of the President beginning November 10 or January 1 depending on a decision to be made by the Attorney General and Stans at a later date;
- 5) Hugh Sloan is acting Chairman of the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of the President until Stans decides to accept the post or an interim Chairman (General Clay or Tom Patton) is chosen;

000075

f) The Attorney General is currently retaining complete financial control, exercised through Hugh Sloan until Stans decides whether to accept or reject the position of Finance Chairman for the Campaign.

g) Preliminary budgets for the Committee for the Re-Election of the President (\$23,000,000) and for the Finance Committee (\$3,000,000) have been submitted to Stans but not put in final form for review by you and the Attorney General yet.

2) The Vice President's re-drafted fund raising letter for the Congressional Committee will go out on October 9.

4) Colson sent you a memorandum noting a Justice Department Anti-Trust Division investigation of the milk producers association exemption, which was upheld by the District of Columbia Federal District Court in 1956. John Dean verified the report. Colson urges his own non-involvement.

Lee Nunn forwarded a letter from John Rarick (D-La.) to Secretary Hardin about a new merger of milk producers and what type of control is to be exerted.

The subject is covered in paragraph 2 of the talking paper for the Attorney General.

#### Harry Dent Matters

1) The Attorney General called Harry Dent to say that "the campaign organization in the key states has not yet been developed to the point where we could be sure of having the right people there." (At Key state dinners at the White House.) The immediate result is that the October 21 dinner for the New York people has been indefinitely postponed. The Attorney General doubts whether any Key state dinners can be held before January 1, 1972. Dave Parker is preparing a memorandum tracing

000076

the Presidential request for these dinners back to February 1971.

2) Also, the Attorney General advises that any Presidential reception for members of the RNC should be delayed until the spring.

3) A young Aide to Senator Gurney mistakenly attributed to Harry Dent statements about Gurney's Vice Presidential opportunities.

4) At the Delaware reception on October 5, John Rollins talked to the President about a fourth party situation. The President called Dent and told him to have Rollins meet with you and perhaps the Attorney General. The subject is presumably the funding of the black candidate project that the President discussed with you on the Spirit of '76 while returning from Alaska.

✓ Arrange meeting for Haldeman, the Attorney General and John Rollins

✓ Arrange conference telephone call for Haldeman, the Attorney General and John Rollins

Other

John Dean

Father McLaughlin will hold a fundraising dinner in Rhode Island on November 4. When you asked John Dean to turn off the project, it was too far along - letters of invitation had already been sent. Dean did talk with Father McLaughlin, but did not accept Dean's advice to stop the project. In addition, Ray Price told Dean "not to worry," that there would be no incidents, and that the event would be held "with restraint."

Murray Chotiner

✓ Magruder reports that the Attorney General informed Chotiner that the \$1,500 per month services of "Chapman's Friend" would be terminated.

✓ You received a carbon of a memorandum from Chotiner to the Attorney General suggesting that "Lee Nunn, or someone like him", should be contacting "Governors and Senators and other VIPs".

000077

OCTOBER 7, 1971

-4-

Magruder's Projects

001192

WH

- ✓ 1) Martha Mitchell will not do a TV talk show but will begin doing a syndicated column, probably for King Features. A 1701 staff writer will prepare the material;
- ✓ 2) The Attorney General told Lyn Nofziger he would not be the California Campaign Manager. Magruder believes it will be Gordon Luce, but the Attorney General has not decided;
- ✓ 3) Additional office space is being acquired at 1701 in anticipation of the staffing up between November 1 and January 1;
- ✓ 4) The Attorney General was pleased that the GOP Moderates Meeting at the Army Navy Club leaked to the press pursuant to plan. He believes that this undermined the "dump Agnew" overtones. The Attorney General has a list of those who attended;
- ✓ 5) The New Hampshire Committee for the Re-Election of the President, with Lane Dwinell as chairman and Allen Walker as the action person, will be announced toward the end of October. There will be no direct connection with the national Committee for the Re-Election of the President, and the press policy will be the same: no Presidential or White House involvement but occasional discussion with the National Committee for the Re-Election of the President;
- ✓ 6) Although the Attorney General has not reviewed Ken Rietz' youth campaign plan, he has approved Rietz plan for a new voter registration plan in Orange County, Florida, beginning with a kickoff speech by Senator Brock on November 1. The drive will conclude November 20, to be followed with appropriate publicity;
- 8) Bob Marik, who prepared the Computers, Polling, and Research Planning Study for Flanigan's signature, went to New York to assess the reapportionment project in New York. The Attorney General directed Magruder and Marik to work with Dick Scolaro on the reapportionment project but with (Chuck) Lanigan for political matters such as strengthening the RNC - NY Republican party cooperation;

Get  
one  
this

G-738  
10/14  
Done  
Hollis  
10/2

we are to give NO money to no one  
never!



9) Magruder suggested to the Attorney General that when Governor Reagan returns from Taiwan and other Asian countries it would be appropriate for Reagan to speak to the National Press Club and reaffirm his support for the President's dialogue with China. The Attorney General agreed. The National Press Club speech by Reagan could be immediately after Reagan's personal report "to the President on the results of his findings" according to Magruder;

10) After you acted on the Bull-Chapin memorandum on the scheduling of Senator Goldwater and other surrogate candidates, Magruder checked with the Attorney General to confirm his understanding that there were no conflicts between your decisions and the Attorney General's views. The only minor divergence concerned the role of the White House Speakers Bureau. You decided that "official spokesmen from official non-political functions up through the Convention" should be handled by Colson's operation. The Attorney General gave a tentative approval "pending further consideration."

63  
10/30  
11) Al Kaupinen will join Harry Flemming at the Committee to work with State-Nixon organizations on November 1. Kaupinen requests continuation of White House mess privileges. Only Jeb Magruder and Hugh Sloan at the Committee currently have mess privileges. *Cancel them* **NO**

Recommendation:

That Kaupinen not retain White House Mess privileges.

Approve H L

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

12) After the YAF Convention debacle, Buchanan was asked to comment on suggested methods of courting Conservatives. Buchanan urged extreme caution on all the suggestions including the NSC talking paper on China (a Kilpatrick column would be better); post-Presidential speech telephone calls (several might not even accept the call); assistance getting Administration explanations in Battle Line, etc. (the key editors and writers have already broken with the Administration so extraordinary assistance would be of no value); only Presidential Commissions and invitations might be accepted, but Buchanan or Dave Keene of the Vice President's office will see that these are handled correctly.

000079

OCTOBER 7, 1971

-6-

### The Democratic Contenders

Pat Buchanan, as the chairman of the Attorney General's task force on the Democratic Contenders, supervises the RNC research on the contenders, drafts materials for Monday, and clears "political hard ball" suggestions for Magruder's implementation. Buchanan reports that he has had significant success in all three areas.

Ed DeBolt at the RNC supervises the preparation of weekly reports on the Democratic Contenders which are detailed and useable enough to preclude the necessity to "assign one White House staff member to . . . each candidate" according to Buchanan.

Both Monday and the anti-Democratic Contenders' signs, demonstrations, State Chairmen statements, and letters to the editors have been "not inconsiderable in terms of harrassing our adversaries." He forwarded the attached memorandum and clippings to prove his point.

In addition, Buchanan has prepared an excellent updated strategy memorandum entitled "Dividing the Democrats". A copy is attached as you may want to read it prior to the general discussion of approach to the Democrats with the Attorney General. Buchanan has led the attack against Muskie but now asks guidance as to whether the attack shouldn't be shifted to "Kennedy, whom some consider (Nofziger among them) the most difficult candidate the President could face." Buchanan also believes that Jackson should receive his share of the attack as a Democratic contender.

Finally, Buchanan reports that "Bob Finch feels very strongly that the time has come to lay the groundwork for the "Do Nothing" Congress charge. Finch believes that the President should open a Cabinet meeting, "clear of Aides," encourage the Cabinet to do a series of speeches supporting the President, and then "depart leaving Bob Finch to fill in the details."

### The Attorney General

As mentioned in my September 24 Political Matters memorandum some involved in the campaign are concerned that the Attorney General is not spending the time necessary to make the early important decisions. Rumsfeld and Flanigan now agree with Dent and Magruder that the time has come for hard decisions by the Attorney General in these areas, for which the Task Force "planning studies" have been completed:

000080

OCTOBER 7, 1971

-7-

- 1) Young Voters for Nixon - Rietz proposal;
- 2) Polling, computers, and research - Flanigan recommendation;
- 3) Democratic Contenders Strategy - Buchanan memoranda;
- 4) RNC Convention Appointments - Timmons suggestions;
- 5) Voter Block Staff Requirements - Magruder;
- 6) Advertising Director - ~~The Attorney General~~ saw Peter Dailey on October 11 and will see Richard O'Reilly on October 13;
- 7) RNC - Dole Problems - raised by Colson, Nofziger, Evans, Dent, etc.;
- 8) Sandwedge and other Covert Activities - Dean;
- 9) The Farm Vote - Whitaker recommendations;
- 10) State Organizations: Flemming is doing only the preliminary, light weight work which is being criticized by Chotiner and Sears. The Attorney General has not held a "political meeting" since June. None of the State organizational dinners, first suggested in February 1971 will occur before January 1972.

Recommendation:

That you arrange a political meeting with the Attorney General at the earliest mutually convenient date to discuss all pending matters.

set  
10/28  
initials  
OK

- ☒ Agree, Strachan set date.
- ☐ Disagree, raise again in one month.
- ☐ Forget suggestion.
- ☐ Other.

000081



OCTOBER 27, 1971

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

WH

October 27, 1971

001142

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

You decided to have a political meeting with the Attorney General to discuss all pending matters. Thursday, October 28 at 11:00 a.m. could be the best time because the President will be meeting with Tito at 11:00 a.m. The date and time have been cleared with the Attorney General's personal secretary, Lea Jablonsky, and Jeb Magruder.

*Get  
disposed  
Residual*

\_\_\_\_ Set the meeting for October 28, 11:00 a.m.

\_\_\_\_ Set the meeting later

\_\_\_\_ Other

Following your last political meeting with the Attorney General on July 2, you indicated that Magruder and I should be present for part but not all of this meeting. The attached suggested agenda is divided between subjects you may want to discuss with Magruder and me present and those you may want to discuss with the Attorney General alone.

Additional background for the subjects included in the agenda as well as materials covered by Magruder in a three hour meeting with the Attorney General on October 25 include:

Finances

1) Secretary Stans has not yet met with the Attorney General to discuss Stans' fourteen points concerning financial control of the Campaign. Stans is awaiting the specific request to become Nixon Finance Chairman for 1972. Stans may want to be asked by the President. The Attorney General has been advised that World Bank is not possible for Stans in 1973. Kalmbach will cover this with Stans as soon as you and the Attorney General reach a decision. Point covered in paragraph 1a of the agenda.

OCTOBER 27, 1971

WH

001143

3) Lee Nunn is working on special political projects for the Attorney General instead of fund raising because of the decision to wait until after the RNC November 9 dinners.

4) Two of these RNC November 9 dinners have been cancelled; ~~the RNC's general financial situation is covered in paragraph 1b of the agenda.~~

Harry Dent Matters

On October 13 Dent distributed to the White House staff description of the political situation in each state, the probable candidates joining the President on the ballot in each state and selected 1968 voting results. You needn't review the complete book and are familiar with the information on the key states.

2) The Attorney General has been advised that Mayor Sam Yorty will enter the primaries in New Hampshire, Nebraska and California but not Florida, because he expects Wallace to enter and win Florida as a Democrat.

3) Washington Governor Evans is swinging in behind the President according to Ehrlichman, and Dent has suggested to the Attorney General that "maybe (we) ought to start working closely with him for '72."

4) Dent's October 26 description of the "Major Elections in November" is attached at Tab A should you wish to review all of the races. To summarize: GOP Tom Emberton should defeat Democrat Lt. Governor Wendell Ford in a very close race for Governor of Kentucky; the Virginia Lt. Governorship will be won by Independent Howell, not GOP State Delegate Shafron; Pennsylvania's special congressional seat should go to GOP candidate John Heinz III; Dick Lugar should win re-election as Indianapolis' Mayor; Alioto should win again in San Francisco. Magruder and Dent will conduct an "election watch".

5) The President asked Dent to develop a mechanism for recruiting "some good new House candidates." The House Campaign Committee usually emphasizes incumbents. You discussed this problem with MacGregor and Timmons on

October 22. Dent sent an October 26 memorandum to the Attorney General which suggests that Dan Kuykendall, who is currently assisting Bob Wilson, assume responsibility for this project. Gerry Ford should also be talked with, but Dent makes no specific recommendation nor has he taken any action. The point is covered in 13 of the Agenda.

001144

6) Dent has advised the Attorney General that he has five top Southern businessmen who want to work for the President in '72. They would not be state chairman, but would raise money, use their transportation facilities, and work with groups where they have strength. The five are Laurence Lee - Jacksonville; Willard Robertson - New Orleans; Stan Frank - Greenboro, North Carolina; Maxie Jarman - Nashville; and Win Rockefeller. In addition, Roger Milliken and Fred Dent, no kin to Harry, are also mentioned. Dent is asking the Attorney General for authority to move ahead with this group.

Not  
Access

7) Dent advised the New York Conservative Party in writing that Agnew would be on the ticket in 1972. Klein recently made a similar representation to the press. Whether Agnew will or will not be on the ticket is not the question. Rather the President's decision making freedom probably should be protected from such statements. The point is covered at 23 in the Agenda.

H/AG  
TaePay

8) Dent responded to an Action Memorandum based on a news summary notation about Virginia politics by noting that the Democrats have conducted an intensive registration drive, student support of the President rose after the China initiative; the Vice President is the focal point for the students anti-establishment views;

Not  
Access

Charlie McWhorter

He attended the Midwest Regional Republican Conference in Indianapolis on October 7-9 and submitted a report to Harry Flemming which made the following points:

1) The spirit of the Conference was general support for the President, but two specific criticisms were the need for a new Secretary of Agriculture and the NEP's failure to meet the political requirements of those close to farmers;

2) Bob Griffin's chances have improved, but the President still faces an uphill fight in Michigan; Lt. Governor Jim Brickley is the recommended Nixon Chairman;

WH

OCTOBER 27, 1971

- 3) The President will have no difficulties in the Wisconsin primary.

McWhorter also submitted **WH** report to Flemming on the Western States Republican Conference in Las Vegas on October 14-16. The report suggests:

001145

- 1) That Alaska would be ideal for a woman (Joan Crossen?) Nixon Chairman;
- 2) McCall should not be encouraged to challenge Hatfield in the Oregon primary because McCall would be no more reliable, and a bitter primary would assure the election of a Democratic Senator;

#### Magruder's Projects

- 1) Several reports by Ken Rietz and Jeb Magruder on the Campaign's approach to youth have been submitted to the Attorney General. Matters covered include:

a) Magruder has received authority from the Attorney General to discuss the Campaign's activities with youth to develop positive stories in the media. Magruder's information has appeared in the October 13 Washington Post article by Ken Clausen, the October 18 issue of Newsweek, and in the October 11 Jules Whitcover article in the Los Angeles Times.

b) The Life article on youth registration is deceptive because "(r)egistration figures for the new voter on a national level are still ranging from 10 to 15%." However, "young people when confronted with an organized registration drive will register, and usually in favor of whomever is running the registration effort." In light of this, Reitz plans youth registration drives beginning November 1 in New Hampshire, Tennessee, and Florida. Efforts are being made to begin in Illinois, Wisconsin, Colorado and Texas. Results will be available December 1. In New Mexico where Rietz has a youth registration drive in operation the under 21 group has registered 41.7% Republican.

c) Richard Scammon says "75-80% of the young people will vote the same as their parents."

d) Rietz has prepared a list of Mock Conventions for Counsellor Rumsfeld, who has promised to review the list, obtain Administration spokesman, and assist in the development of target organization.

*Some of this  
can be repeated  
in the  
lead of the article*

*That  
was in the  
New Survey  
the way.*

**WH**



OCTOBER 27, 1971

e) The RNC is behind in youth registration drives, but Magruder has obtained a commitment from Tom Evans and Anne Armstrong to begin on November 11.

2) This flurry of memoranda from Magruder/Rietz is a result of your October 6 memorandum to the Attorney General expressing the President's frequently voiced concern about young voters. The only tangible results are the positive media stories and the New Mexico report. Young Voters for Nixon is the subject of paragraph 8 of the Agenda.

3) RNC Film

001146

Chapin, Carruthers, Goode, Kehrli and I reviewed the Robert Goodman film "A Generation of Peace" prepared for the RNC. The unanimous view that there should be substantial rewriting and editing resulted in Chapin assigning the project to Mark Goode. The Attorney General received the revised script October 20. A copy with my comments is attached. The only additional filming that Mark Goode urges that requires your approval is use of the interior of the Spirit of '76. Goode says this will take three hours at the most. Since the film already uses footage of the Spirit of '76 arriving the hope is that some footage can be obtained of the interior which would closely associate the President with the plane. Pictures of the conference area and seal have been mentioned by Goode.

G → Goode  
10/28

☒ Approve use of Spirit of '76.

☒ Disapprove use of Spirit of '76.

☐ Other.

Discussion with Mark Goode about the type of documentary film that you, MacGregor and Timmons envision for the Campaign indicates that the two projects are distinct. The RNC film is Republican party worker oriented. The documentary film is the type Dwight Chapin has been discussing with David Polper, a recognized, professional film maker.

Reference to the two films appears in paragraph 14 of the Agenda.

4) After you suggested to the Attorney General that the RNC change their "Mission 70" theme to Mission 72, Magruder talked with Tom Evans who agreed to have future materials printed Mission 72.

5) The middle level Campaign Strategy Group (Dent; Flemming,

WH

OCTOBER 27, 1971

WH

Garment, Magruder, Marik, Miller, Moore and Strachan; Buchanan will join the group upon return from Russia) met on October 13, 25, and 27. The discussion of the New Hampshire primary led to consideration of the correct mechanism for the President's announcement for a second term. The group recommended to the Attorney General that "the President should maintain a low political profile in the primaries, but, when necessary, should be candid about his intentions for 1972 and meet the legal New Hampshire tests in a routine manner." The decision papers for the Attorney General as well as Buchanan's comments on primary strategy are attached at Tab C. The entire subject of primaries and the Attorney General's recommendations for President is discussed in paragraph 6 of the Agenda. 001147

6) Magruder is meeting with some success in implementing Buchanan's suggestions for causing Muskie difficulties during appearances. Recent reports he has submitted have copies of the media coverage given to white and black pickets with anti-Muskie signs. The Muskie office plant is also producing speeches prior to delivery, recipients of Muskie materials in certain states, and films of certain files. No other intelligence activities against any of the other Democratic contenders is being pursued by Magruder. The subject of convert activities is covered in paragraph 2 of the Agenda.

7) Magruder urges the Attorney General to meet with New Jersey Governor Cahill to assure a redistricting plan that gives a black district to Newark.

8) The Committee is prepared to hire a writer. Magruder suggests that he be physically located in Ray Price's office so that he could act as liaison between the Committee and Price and be available to Price as the need arose. Magruder has interviewed Tom Shepard's writer, Mel Grayson, but has deferred a decision in light of the White House's first option on Grayson's services.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the Committee writer not be located in Price's office but at 1701 with the rest of the Campaign staff.

Approve 14 Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

9) Magruder recommended to the Attorney General that the Committee hire Clayton Yeutter ("lighter") to be the Farm vote. Harlow and Whitaker concur in the recommendation. Ehrlichman interviewed him in June 1970, but said there was no need for a "White House Farmer ... at this time." Yeutter is from Nebraska and former Administrative Assistant

WH

WH

to Governor Tieman (Republican - Nebraska). He is currently the Administrator of Consumer and Marketing Service at DOA.

10) Bob Marik prepared a basic statement of the election realities for Ken Cole and Ed Harper for use in the budget hearings. Charts indicate the size and location of voter blocs within the key states. Combining this information with the 1968 results should make it easier to target budget decisions.

11) Rita Houser's conception of her role in the Campaign differs from the Attorney General's. Her report on women's activities is too women's liberation, public relations oriented. Magruder is preparing a response for the Attorney General's signature. 001146

12) Magruder has been asked to submit weekly updates about all Campaign matters instead of series of unrelated memoranda. You will, of course, receive a copy of the report.

14) The Attorney General directed Magruder to prepare the background materials for the "political matters" Cabinet meeting tentatively scheduled for November 5. Magruder's proposal to the Attorney General makes several suggestions which you should consider changing. First, the group Magruder proposes is too large. In addition to the President, Vice President and Cabinet level individuals Magruder is recommending RNC (Dole, Evans, Armstrong), Campaign Committee (Magruder and Flemming), and a "political" representative from each Department. The subject and the attendees will be in the press within an hour after invitations are extended. The press reports will be adverse because the suggested format is the President commenting on the Campaign (during a non-political year?), and detailed descriptions of the Campaign organization by the Attorney General, Magruder, and Flemming, as well as RNC functions, and the Cabinet's crucial political role in 1972. The subject is raised in point 4 of the Agenda.

15) The Attorney General was very upset at the Evans and Novak article of October 25 indicating that the President had to get quality Supreme Court nominees from the White House Staff because the Attorney General couldn't deliver.

WH

16) Tom Reed, the GOP National Committeeman from California, will be offered the position of Director of the direct mail and telephone operation at the Committee.

17) The Attorney General directed Magruder to get as much detailed information about McCloskey's activities in New Hampshire as possible. Magruder currently expects McCloskey to receive 20-25% of the vote.

18) With the Attorney General's approval Magruder will contact Bob Walters, the Wallace California Chairman in 1968, about getting Wallace off the California ballot. Magruder will use third parties to protect the transaction which may involve a payment to Walters of 10. Final approval for the payment has not been granted. The subject is covered in 15 of the Agenda.

001143

19) The 1972 RNC Convention Task Force headed by Bill Timmons recommended to the Attorney General that no commitments be made until next Spring for the high visibility convention positions (Permanent Chairman, Platform Chairman, etc.). The reason for the delay is that "relative (political) clout" should not control these decisions but rather that the controlling factor should be television image to the Nation of various leaders on certain issues. Chairman Dole would be responsible for stopping the current lobbying for the various positions.

#### Harry Flemming Matters

He continues to travel on the Attorney General's behalf. A recent review of all the states indicates that commitments have been made for Nixon Chairmen for 1972 in twelve states (Colorado-Governor Love; Illinois-Tom Houser; Maine - Ned Harding; Missouri-Larry Roos; Nebraska-George Cook; Nevada-Paul Laxalt; New Hampshire-Lane Dwinell; North Carolina-Charlie Jonas, Jr., and Willis Smith, Jr.; Ohio-Ray Bliss; Oregon-Wendall Wyatt; South Dakota-"Obie" O'Brien; Wisconsin - John McIver).

#### Cliff Miller Matters

Discussion with Cliff Miller after your telephone conversation of October 15 indicates that he wants to assist the Attorney General in the Campaign (at \$2,000 per month according to Magruder), while retaining his direct access to you for special projects inside the White House. He plans to put particular emphasis on the efforts of Colson, Moore, Klein, Ziegler and Ehrlichman.

RNC Matters

WH

Discussion with Tom Evans in his office on October 26 covered several matters that you may want to raise with the Attorney General. The November 9 RNC dinners will not raise as much money as anticipated because Nunn went around and obtained commitments that really hurt the RNC. On the specific dinner arrangements Evans told Bernard Lasky, New York Dinner Chairman, that he would urge the President to spend more than 30 minutes in New York. Evans also wants to be aboard the Spirit of '76 on the flight from New York to Chicago because he "can be a great help to the President" with names and anecdotes. The Regional Conferences, such as the Western States Republican Conferences are disasters (1/5 of projected attendance) because the RNC is not in charge. Patronage under Tom Evans and Dan Kingsley is running very smoothly. Tom Evans feels left out of the convention planning. Harry Flemming is not heavy enough to deal with some of the state leaders; he does not advise Evans ahead of time so ill will results; and Harry Flemming's European trip for Nixon Chairman caused several whom Flemming contacted, to call Tom Evans and express real concern. Tom Evans is also seeking more involvement in Administration policy decisions through the Domestic Council. He is particularly interested in certain old age issues.

The Attorney General

001150

The Attorney General has indicated to Jeb Magruder that he will resign as Attorney General, rejoin Mudge Rose Guthrie and Alexander, and run the Campaign from office space at Mudge Rose in Washington. The entire middle level strategy group has very serious reservations about the adverse publicity that will result from the Attorney General rejoining the firm. Len Garment and Dick Moore definitely want to see you personally before the subject is raised with the Attorney General.

Set meeting.

G → Garment  
→ Moore  
10/28

☒ Advise Garment and Moore to put their arguments on paper.

Advise Garment and Moore that the Attorney General's decision to rejoin Mudge Rose is firm.

Other.

WH

NOTE: *The following talking paper is referred to in the Political Matters Memorandum of October 27, 1971, as being attached to the memorandum. Four pages of the talking paper were included among the documents relating to the Political Matters Memoranda received by the House Judiciary Committee from the White House. The entire talking paper was included among other White House documents received by the Committee.*

001741

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 11-3-71

TO:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

The Attorney General asked Jeb Magruder for an agenda for the political matters meeting tentatively scheduled for Thursday October 4 at 4:00 p.m. The AG received a copy of the attached agenda. He did not, of course, receive a copy of the talking paper, nor has he received materials on the subjects to be covered after Magruder and Strachan depart.

WH

Director Tom, 10/27/71

H. R. Wallerstein's Office, 4 p.m.

I. Finances

Maurice Stans status -- Nixon Finance Chairman  
for 1972?

II. Intelligence

001742

Sandwedge status -- should Dean or Kalmbach become  
more involved?

III. Republican National Committee

- A. Senator Solad's performance
- B. Obtaining someone with real clout  
to shake up the RNC.
- C. Tom Evans status

IV. Cabinet in the Campaign

- A. Cabinet Meeting -- November 5
- B. Secretary Volpe's memorandum

V. Congressional Candidates

- A. Republican Senators up for re-election in 1972.
- B. Congressional Campaign Committee -- Bob Wilson

VI. Strategy on Primaries

VII. McCloskey

VIII. Political Strategy Groups

IX. Youth Vote

The President's concern and Rietz' plans.

X. The Democratic Contenders

XI. The Democratic Convention

XII. Political Discussions by the President

XIII. Wallace



WH

TALKING PAPER FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Re: Political Matters Pending/Magruder and Strachan Present

1. Finances:

001746

Will Maury Stans be Nixon Finance Chairman for 1972?

Kalmbach reports that in his talk with you last week you had reservations about Stans' departure on December 1.

How will Stans function vis a vis the RNFC? Shouldn't Stans take charge of all fund raising activities, including the RNFC, shortly after the RNC November 9 dinner?

Do you want to cover with Stans that Treasury and World Bank are definitely out for him in 1973? Apparently Kalmbach is willing to inform Stans if that would be best.

Is there any Presidential participation necessary for this Stans move?

2. Intelligence:

Sandwedge has received an initial 50, but are we really developing the capability needed?

John Dean reports that nothing is happening right now. Should his involvement be expanded to something more than mere White House contact?

WH

-2-

Kalmbach keeps asking for "tough, interesting assignments". Could we make him the one man responsible for this intelligence system?

3. Republican National Committee:

001744

Magruder indicates that you are considering setting up someone (Murray Chotiner?) with real clout to supervise the RNC and assure its proper role in the Campaign.

Magruder has talked with Bryce Harlow about this role. Are we going to use him to shake up the RNC?

Dent reports that Mardian has discussed with you the Tom Evans "ego-maniac" problem. Apparently Evans and Dole rarely speak to each other.

What about shifting Tom Evans' job? He could become National Finance Chairman because he is good at fund raising and Milbank has indicated to Kalmbach that he might be interested in leaving.

WJ

Dent suggests replacing Evans with a "real savvy political operator" with stature -- someone like Governor Louie Nunn. Nunn would probably have to receive the "mission to organize the Republican troops" from the President.

001743

What is your reaction to replacing Evans?

Whether Evans is replaced or not, shouldn't the RNC be directed to work on Senate and House campaigns instead of trying to increase their involvement in the President's campaign?

4. Cabinet in the Campaign:

In tomorrow's political Cabinet meeting, the point must be made that the Campaign starts today. That it is up to the Cabinet Members to shift gears as of today. Start moving on a totally all out political basis.

They must take on the responsibility for attack as well as defense and, of course, major emphasis on the idea of the outstanding work of the President and the character traits of the President as a man.

WV

-4-

WH

Connally would have been very effective in this kind of meeting, but in his absence careful planning and follow-up should enable us to keep the initiative on this concept that the Campaign is underway.

001740

Although this Cabinet meeting is not the one for the details which Secretary Volpe asked the President for, would you at some point cover his questions about voting residence, delegate position at the National Convention, and the Cabinet Officers role in the Presidential primaries with the Cabinet?

5. Congressional Candidates:

MacGregor and Timmons believe that now is the time for the President to have unannounced half-hour meetings with the Republican Senators up for re-election in 1972. Before the President meets with them would you contact them individually or as a group, review their specific requests on behalf of the President, and advise them that the meeting will be a general, issue oriented discussion with no Presidential commitments for dams, parks, or appearances?

WH

-5-

In addition to the President's desire not to be led into doing anything against any of those people who have supported us on Vietnam, you should know that the President does not intend to do television shorts for the Senate or House candidates next year. In some cases he will do pictures for incumbents up for re-election, but he will not do pictures for new candidates. 001747

If Rumsfeld now cannot handle this political matter, who should?

6. Strategy on Primaries:

Because of the new primaries with different filing deadlines, would now be the time for the development of your formal recommendation to the President covering strategy, timing, surrogate candidates, and announcement procedures?

39

-6-

Buchanan's October 18 memorandum and the two memoranda from the Magruder Strategy Group pose many of the hard questions for the President and the Democrats.

7. McCloskey:

I understand that Magruder is obtaining as much political information on McCloskey in New Hampshire as possible. The President noted beside a report that McCloskey may get 25-30% of the vote in New Hampshire: "Let's not overlook the best possible total party support we can. All the leaders should be asked to take sides." Will Lane Dwinell as the Nixon Chairman in New Hampshire in 1972 get this done? Will Magruder now handle these State Chairman announcements so that McCloskey doesn't get all of the media coverage?

001748

8. Political Strategy Group:

You have the backup information on the possible political strategy groups. You may want to cover this with the Attorney General.

11/17/71

WII

Have you decided against having any further political meetings with Kleindienst, LaRue, Mardian, Rumsfeld, Dent, Flemming and Magruder?

9. Youth Vote:

001745

As I explained in my October 6 memorandum, the President is very concerned that there has been very little action by the Committee for the Re-Election of the President to counter the Democratic registration of youth.

Recent Magruder/Rietz memoranda indicate we are starting to be successful with the media. Is the Rietz request for \$2.5 million a reasonable solution to the youth vote?

After the Gallup Poll results showing the Republicans at 25%, the President emphasized that we must go after the 31% Independents because "(t)hey are not independent by choice -- most just are undecided not independent".

10. The Democratic Contenders

Buchanan's memoranda ask for several decisions:

- a) Should the attack continue to be centered on Muskie to the exclusion of Kennedy?

WII

-8-

- b) What about Jackson? His schedule and rumored decision to enter New Hampshire indicate he is running hard. Should the attack on him be stepped up?
- c) Should the Vice President be used as a resource to attack the Democratic contenders?
- d) You raised a question about Ron Walker being engaged in certain political activities at my direction. The cost was \$1100 and carried a "Ron Walker - \$2,000" notation. The balance has been returned to Sloan. I suggest we do not use Walker or his advancement for these activities in the future.

001750

11. The Democratic Convention:

Bill Timmons prepared a memorandum summarizing the status of the Democratic Party's Convention reforms. The memo also contains recommendations as to action that should be taken to complicate their Convention. Some of it is above board and some down and dirty.

Who should have primary responsibility for implementing his suggestions? John Dean? Jeb Magruder?

12. Political Discussions by the President:

Harry Flenning submitted a suggested telephone call for the President to make to Walter Peterson, Governor of

42



-9-

New Hampshire. He also submitted your request for the President to meet with Governor Frank Sargent of Massachusetts. It is the President's wish that there be no more recommendations for political discussions of this type.

13. Wallace:

I understand that Magruder contacted Bob Walters, the 1968 Wallace Chairman in California. I realize Magruder is using third parties but shouldn't someone else more removed from the Campaign -- such as Kalmbach -- be handling this?

001751

GS  
11-3-71

-10-

POLITICAL MATTERS PENDING -- FOR DISCUSSION WITH MRH AND THE  
ATTORNEY GENERAL ALONE. MAGRUDER AND STRACHAN DEPART.

14. Until Stans or someone else assumes control of the finances, are you still personally approving expenditures through Hugh Sloan? The reason that I raise this control of Committee expenses is that the salary increases of the first group of employees may make it difficult to recruit good talent at a reasonable price later. The high salaries are also having a very negative effect on morale here at the White House, especially since there have not been any raises since the freeze. The employees and salary increases are:

001732

White House Salary Committee Salary

Jeb Magruder	\$32,500	\$38,500
Harry Flemming	28,000	18,000 (half time)
Hugh Sloan	22,500	25,000
Lee Nunn		20,000
Rob Odle	17,000	22,000
Tom Bell		10,000
Bob Marik		32,500
Bart Porter	23,000	31,000
Ken Reitz		36,000

Special expense accounts such as Magruder's \$3,000 per month also will cause us trouble later.

Whatever the salary problems, recruitment of personnel such as Gerry Warren or Van Shunway without consultation with the people involved here at the White House also strains the relationship with the Committee.

001753

15. As you probably know, the Milk Producers currently enjoy an antitrust exemption resulting from a 1956 decision by the Federal District for the District of Columbia. A report here at the White House indicates the Antitrust Division at Justice is now investigating that exemption. Another report indicates that the Washington Post has assigned four reporters full-time on the milk money project. Do I understand correctly that you have directed John Dean to review any reports that have to be filed on the Hill connected with the receipt of the milk money?

17. From the Campaign funds I need 800-300 for surveillance;  
300 for polls and 200 for miscellaneous. Will you direct 45

-12-

WH

18. In light of our discussion with John Rollins last Thursday, should any of the Magruder activities involving "investigating Shirley Chisholm's candidacy" be reconsidered? Is there any need to follow-up on the black convention question and McCarthy?

19. The current EMK surveillance activities under the direction of John Dean are not producing the type of results that may be useful next year. Who should we designate to increase the surveillance of EMK from periodic to constant?

00175

Is there any other candidate or group, such as Common Cause, about whom we should obtain damaging information?

20. Reports from Murray Chotiner, Tom Evans, (John Sears) and Harry Dent indicate that maybe someone "heavier" than Harry Flemming be making the commitments on Nixon Chairman in the various states.

Also, if Flemming is considering using just state desk men with no regional men won't there be a rush by these individual to get to you to appeal Flemming's decisions?

21. Harry Dent wrote the New York Conservative Party to say

WH

WH

that Agnew would definitely be on the ticket in 1972. Herb Klein made a similar statement. How do you want to handle them?

22. We need to hit Kevin Phillips on his line that we should not be overlooking McCloskey. He wrote a column making the point that McCloskey would pick up 20-25% of the New Hampshire vote and this would be regarded as a severe setback for the President. This may or may not be the case, the point is we should not let the line develop in this direction. 001755

23. You mentioned a memo to you about Reeves Bunting. We have no record of it. What should we do to resolve the matter?

24. I understand Len Garment talked to you on Friday about your rumored (source: Magruder) plan to rejoin the law firm, Mudge Rose Guthrie & Alexander, and run the Campaign from the firm's office space at 1701. Len Garment, Dick Moore, Harry Flemming, Cliff Miller, Bob Marik, and Jeb Magruder consider this a "political mistake of the first order". (Garment memorandum attached.)

10/28/71

If compensation is the primary problem maybe we should establish a mechanism whereby all your expenses are paid, but you "volunteer" your services to assure the President's re-election. In 1973 any monetary salary loss would be covered in full.

001750

GS  
11-3-71

WV

NOVEMBER 16, 1971

*Complex*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 16, 1971

*6*  
*Excellent Summary*  
*very helpful*  
*H.*

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**  
SUBJECT: Political Matters

Finances

1) Secretary Stans did not see the Attorney General about being Finance Chairman for 1972 before he left for Russia. Hugh Sloan believes the Attorney General may have talked on the telephone with Stans before his departure. In any event, if Stans assumed control of the financial aspect of the '72 campaign, Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan have not been informed. They are still waiting for instructions to begin fund raising now that the November 9 RNC dinners are completed. Only Kalmbach is out obtaining pledges and cash. Secretary Stans will return from Russia December 6.

2) Herb Kalmbach called on November 15 and covered the following:

(1). Raymond Guest delivered 100 of the 200 on November 3. Kalmbach informed Peter Flanigan that: "Raymond asked for no commitments and none were given";

(2). On November 18, Kalmbach will see John H. Safer, who will come in for 250. Kalmbach realizes he cannot make a "commitment," but would like to tell Safer that he would receive "serious consideration" for an Ambassadorship to Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Australia in that order. Kalmbach has not approached Flanigan about this because he would not want to risk another "DeRoulet/Symington commitment" argument.

Recommendation:

That Kalmbach not receive Haldeman authority to use "serious consideration" because the implication is obvious and non-delivery is very damaging.

000151

NOVEMBER 16, 1971

-2-

Agree H Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

Concerning Fife Symington, he just wrote you (letter and response attached). His letter makes three points: "I feel sure that Peter will work things out in accordance with Herb's commitment to me;" his willingness to work in the campaign, especially with the negro vote; and his desire to attend "a small function with the President at the White House so he can thank the President personally for his "wonderful letter accepting (Symington's) resignation."

3) The Attorney General has directed Harry Flemming to have each of the President Nixon state chairman remain financially independent of the national campaign. All operating expenses must be raised locally by the local chairmen.

Harry Dent

1) After your meeting with the Attorney General on November 4, Magruder and Dent met, agreed upon a list of attendees, and have called the first meeting of the Political Strategy Group on November 23. Those invited are: Bob Finch, Don Rumsfeld, Herb Klein, Bill Safire, Ray Price, Senator Dole, Anne Armstrong, Tom Evans, Jeb Magruder, Bob Teeter, Chuck Colson, Bill Timmons, Ken Cole, Bryce Harlow, Ed Harper..

2) Dent is urging you, the Attorney General and Ed Morgan for the Administration to support an anti-bussing amendment;

3) Holton's brand of Virginia Republican liberalism is dead. Dent is urging the Attorney General to get the Harry Byrd forces and Republicans together for the President's re-election. Dent suggests that Congressman Ken Robinson (R-Winchester, Va) become the President Nixon State Chairman for 1972.

4) Florida may be safe for President Nixon in 1972 if Wallace runs in the Democratic primary because a new election ruling would forfeit any Wallace delegates won in the Florida primary if he ran in another state as an Independent.

5) Dent sent materials to the Attorney General concerning Lawrence Meisel, a member of the Executive Committee of the Republican Finance Committee (1964-1969) and top fund raiser from Missouri. Meisel is very upset about the Administration's national security policies. Dick Allen has met with Meisel and will try to continue a running "dialogue" to prevent further attacks on the President.

G → Allen  
11/19

H → G 11/31

000152

*Delegates don't make any difference*



Magruder's Projects

1) The first weekly report of campaign activities has been submitted to the Attorney General. It is 20 pages long with charts of polling information that you already have. Specific items of interest are:

a) Office space adjacent to Mudge Rose Guthrie and Alexander at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue has been leased for Magruder and his expanding staff. They anticipate the Attorney General will head the Campaign as a member of the law firm;

b) The Campaign staff now has a car and driver as well as a "bellboy" radio system;

c) David Keene of the Vice President's staff is working with the new Executive Director of YAF, Wayne Thornburn, to arrange a meeting with the Committee staff to assure better support for the President;

d) Larry Goldberg is working for Max Fisher as the liaison with the Jewish community;

e) Young voter registration drives are being conducted in Orlando, Florida, San Diego, and New Hampshire, where the registration drive is combined with a signature drive for the President's petition in New Hampshire;

f) Ken Rietz is contacting each of the young 1971 election victors to determine support for the President.

2) New Hampshire Primary - The Campaign Strategy Group submitted a proposal to the Attorney General regarding the President's announcement to seek re-election. The group recommends an announcement by the President though low key, possibly after a long weekend in San Clemente. One possibility would be as the opening statement in his discussion with the TV commentators in early January. The group recommends against using TV in New Hampshire because of the "big money" image of the campaign. Instead the group recommends to the Attorney General that emphasis be placed on direct mail (\$31,000 for 2 mailings to Republicans and 1 to Independents) and telephone contact of voters (\$25,000). TV ads will be prepared just in case the decision not to use TV is changed.

McCloskey's efforts in New Hampshire consist of: 14 days in New Hampshire to date speaking at colleges and doing effective "coffees;" three staff members, two are under 30 and Robert Reno, McCloskey's State Chairman from Concord; (where the only headquarters are located); no town, city or

000153

county chairmen have surfaced; rumors of Governor Peterson's aides associating with McCloskey; Manchester Union Leader publisher Bill Loeb blasts McCloskey while not giving the President any good marks.

Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty can not enter both the Democrat and Republican primaries in New Hampshire.

3) RNC Convention - The Attorney General met with Bill Timmons, Jeb Magruder, and Rob Odle on November 12 to reveiw the status of the RNC convention. In addition to the selection of the Platform Chairman (Representative John Rhodes - R-Ariz.), decisions include:

a) Bill Timmons advises Senator Dole of decisions made by the Attorney General concerning the Convention;

b) There will be no nationwide public hearings by the Platform Committee; suggestions may be submitted in writing;

c) Floor demonstrations will be permitted only for the "serious candidates" for President, who must have substantial delegate support (10% of the Convention delegates - 134);

d) Roberts Rules of Order will not control the Convention because the House Rules offer more control by the Chairman and are less "democratic."

e) Instead of specifying the time for nominating speeches, any "serious candidate" for President or Vice President will have 15 minutes to use as he sees fit;

f) Each Cabinet Officer and agency head will decide whether he wants, at his own expense, to be housed in San Diego with his state delegation or the "political" group.

g) The tentative agenda for the convention is:

Monday, August 21	Day:	Procedural Details
	Night:	(1) 1972 version of traditional key note address
		(2) Film of Foreign Travel
		(3) Salute to Mrs. Nixon

Tuesday, August 22	Day:	Committee Reports
	Night:	Nomination of President
		Nomination of Vice President

000154

G-0022 11/19  
G-0022 11/19

*Badly needs  
some creative TV  
thinking.*

Wednesday, August 23

Day: Business Session  
Night: President's Acceptance Speech

h) A dispute, which may reach the press, is developing between the new owner of the arena (Peter Thompson of Vancouver) and the RNC. The Attorney General sent Dick Herman to San Diego this week to work out a solution;

4) The Ripon Society has filed suit against the RNC challenging the formula for the allocation of delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention. Since the campaign committee does not yet have a campaign counsel they ask whether John Dean can assist Fred Scribner in the preparation of the RNC's answers to the 200 page complaint.

G → Dean 11/19  
70d22  
353m

☒ Yes, use Dean temporarily;  
☐ No, rely on Fred Scribner  
☐ Other

G → Porter  
11/19

5) Celebrities - After preliminary work by Taft Schreiber and the Bart Porter at the Committee, the Attorney General met with fifteen representatives of the movie industry in California on November 10. The purpose of the meeting was to obtain commitments of support from these individuals who control the performers' futures. The meeting opened with a review of what the Nixon Administration had done for the movie industry. All agreed to supply a key contact in his company to line up performers behind the President. These contacts will work with a professional staff man, funded by the meetings' attendees.

Good

Taft Schreiber has the follow-up responsibility for this project with Bart Porter reporting to the Attorney General.

The White House, primarily Henry Cashen in Colson's office, has done a fair job cultivating athletes but has experienced difficulty recruiting entertainers because they are generally liberal and not particularly receptive to White House approaches. It is felt that entertainers can best be persuaded by their employers to endorse the President's re-election. Taft Schreiber's group with follow-up by Bart Porter and

have received this assignment from the Attorney General.

*just live up the ones that are already for us. We haven't done that yet.*

000155

NOVEMBER 16, 1971

-6-

WH

6) Friends of Richard Nixon Seminar - The Attorney General has been asked by Anne Armstrong to send a personal letter to John Ehrlichman, Don Rumsfeld, Joe Blatchford, Dolf Droge, Virginia Knauer, Rogers Morton, and Curtis Tarr to accept RNC invitations to speak to a seminar in Washington December 14-51. The Attorney General has not decided whether to send the letter. If he does, his "political control" of the Campaign will be obvious and will probably appear in the press.

G-Porter  
11/17

Turner  
idea

7) Magruder advised the Attorney General that the Harris Family Issues Poll would not be available to anyone at the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, including the Attorney General.

001090

8) Ken Cole followed up the November 5 Cabinet Meeting by contacting the Cabinet officers about the political scheduling by Bart Porter at the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. An advance manual for the surrogate candidates is being prepared by Ron Walker's office. The first monthly report on the program is due December 5.

G-Porter  
11/17

That's  
ridiculous  
to AG

Dwight Chapin and Jeb Magruder met on November 9 with Senator Goldwater's staff about his schedule. The reaction of his staff was quite negative. Magruder plans on submitting a Goldwater scheduling status report in one week.

WH

NOVEMBER 16, 1971

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

TO:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

WH

001092

WH

WH

- in action but not  
included in memo:
- 1) Dean memo on Reggio Camp
  - 2) alt memo on Women regis
  - 3) Regis regis drive Orange Fla
  - 4) Conn poll results
  - 5) Target Regis '72
  - 6) Arlen Specter
  - 7) Natl J on aging
  - 8) 1701 Office Spade
  - 9) 22 Poll w/ no results by Mon
  - 10) First call on Cal mailing
  - 11) Final on split in Cal Rep
  - 12) Rummy on Ga professor
  - 13) Morey on young Rep pres

001091

WH

DECEMBER 2, 1971

*Camp 10*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*6* *AE*

Administratively Confidential

December 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *G*

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

The Nixon Finance Committee of Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan has received 1,700 and disbursed 630, leaving a balance of 1,070. The receipts are low because fundraising was curtailed before the November 9 RNC dinner and Secretary Stans does not return from Russia until December 6. On his return the Attorney General is prepared to discuss with him the position of Financial Chairman for 1972.

Herb Kalmbach now has pledges of 11,600 but "in the barn" receipts are only 1,000. However, he believes there will be a 95% delivery on the pledges.

The RNC financial situation will be reviewed by the Attorney General on December 4. Magruder will meet with Tom Evans on December 2 and 3 to get detailed budget and receipt figures from the RNC with particular focus on the November 9 dinners.

Concerning ambassadorships, Kalmbach will get a case by case determination from the Attorney General as he did in the case of John Safer. Kalmbach has tried to approach Flanigan but continues to have the same problems of having telephone calls returned and reaching an understanding.

The Committee for the Re-Election of the President has a December budget of 100,000, of which 50,000 is salary, 16,000 travel and entertainment, and 36,000 operating expenses. The budget submitted to the Attorney General does not list the 40 employees and their individual salaries.

Cliff Miller -- He met with the Attorney General on December 2 for one hour to review the Campaign. The Attorney General asked Miller to know the details and to supply independent advice on polling and research, advertising, the PR - press area, and telephone - direct mail. Miller expressed his view, that the weakest part of the Campaign was Harry Flemming's

000159

DECEMBER 2, 1971

-2-

field operation. The Attorney General admitted that there was a problem, which the Attorney General planned to alleviate by bringing in "fellows with a little more stature", such as Mardian. Also, the Attorney General has kept Flemming under "very close reins" so far.

The Attorney General agreed that it might be a good idea to have Miller or someone else go to New Hampshire to take an independent look at the New Hampshire campaign operation.

The Attorney General is concerned that the Shumway move did not proceed quicker and with more careful checking by Miller. Miller assured him that all parties were now in agreement and that he will work directly with Fred Malek.

Without any hard evidence, Miller believes that the Attorney General is pleased with Magruder's performance.

Harry Dent -- The Attorney General is being urged to talk to Governor Holton about a Byrd Coalition candidate for Senator Spong's seat so that Virginia will be an easy victory for the President.

Ehrlichman received a political briefing from Dent on North Carolina in connection with his trip to Duke University. The memorandum emphasizes the impending party primary fight between Jim Holshouser and Jim Gardner for the governorship and the problems getting Jim Broyhill to run for Senator Jordan's Senate seat. However, "the President seems to be in good shape in North Carolina".

After you questioned whether Wallace would forfeit delegates or electors if he runs in the Democratic primary in Florida and then as an independent in another state, Dent double checked. The Florida Democratic Executive Committee passed and then rescinded a provision that would have denied Wallace his delegates. The Secretary of State did not follow the Democratic party's example and rule that he would also lose his electors.

Dent talks with Kevin Phillips periodically. Last week the Attorney General "hit Phillips hard" on some of his recently published remarks. Dent has the highest regard for Phillips' "political brain" and says that although Phillips hates Colson, Ehrlichman, Flemming and Kleindienst, he is only beginning to turn sour on the Administration. Dent, at the Attorney General's direction, will continue to stay in touch with Phillips, but Dent believes you should see Phillips briefly to convince him that the President still looks to Kevin Phillips for political advice,

000160



DECEMBER 2, 1971

-3-

WH

Arrange Haldeman meeting with Phillips

G → Dent  
12/13

Receive Phillips political advice through the  
Attorney General and Dent

Other

001096

Dent attended the Republican Governors Conference on November 20-21 in Indiana and reports that "their public statements and actions were very good". The Governors want to be more political and help the President. They also feel that more information should be made available to the Vice President.

Martha Mitchell was a "smash hit" at a GOP fund raising appearance in South Carolina, November 19.

Dent is urging the Attorney General to contact the Vice President to have him reconsider his change of plans cancelling his appearance before the Southern GOP Conference on December the 4th.

Wallace Henley is tracking George Wallace and reports that he has resigned himself to running as an independent in Alabama because of his problems with the Legislature. The new AIP platform is like a reprint of the Burchers Blue Book. The AIP National Convention will be held in Toledo. The date has not been set.

Murray Chotiner

Cliff White is still meeting with Conservatives and blaming the President for the U.N. result.

John Dean -- The Attorney General discussed with John Dean the need to develop a political intelligence capability. Sandwedge has been scrapped. Instead, Gordon Liddy, who has been working with Bud Krogh, will become general counsel to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, effective December 6, 1971. He will handle political intelligence as well as legal matters. Liddy will also work with Dean on the "political enemies" project.

WH

DECEMBER 2, 1971

-4-

Jack Caulfield will go over to the Committee when the Attorney General moves. Caulfield will handle the same projects he currently does. In addition he will assume responsibility for the personal protection of the Attorney General.

Campaign Related Action Memo -- A Sigma Delta Chi Convention identified the Campaign's principle issues as the economy (107 of 122 votes), international affairs (9), and law and order (3). While reading the news summary report of this the President "strongly stated that the Democrats must not be allowed to get away with this . . . international affairs is our issue and the economy is theirs -- regardless of what happens to it because the liberals can always promise more". You, Ehrlichman, and Colson received the memorandum.

You, Ehrlichman, and Colson were also advised that "our political types working the precinct in the ghettos and Navaho Reservations for Republican converts would do well to focus their attention upon the Holy Name Society, the Women's Sodality, and the Polish-American Union".

Magruder's Projects -- The weekly report submitted to the Attorney General on December 1 is briefer and better than previous reports. It is attached at Tab A for your review instead of being summarized because you had asked about the youth registration drives, which are covered in some detail.

Magruder reports that the Attorney General met with Lyn Nofziger on December 1. On November 4 you and the Attorney General talked about the importance of getting a Nofziger interpretation of the Dole-Evans split. Unfortunately, Magruder believes this subject was not covered because the meeting focused on the California situation.

Magruder will meet with Tom Evans of the RNC on December 2 and 3 to get his views of the role of the RNC in the Campaign. Magruder and Flemming meet with the Attorney General on December 4 to decide on the role and budget of the RNC vis a vis the Committee. On December 6 the Attorney General, Magruder and Flemming will tell Tom Evans of their decisions. Tom Evans will explain the decisions to the RNC at the meeting in Washington on December 9-12. Besides the Budget, Magruder considers the voter registration and get out the vote functions as the only important areas that have not been resolved.

000162

WH

Magruder and some of his top people have moved into new offices adjoining Mudge Rose Guthrie and Alexander at 1701 because everyone is still under the impression that the Attorney General will become a partner in the law firm when he leaves Justice. You may already have discussed this matter of joining the firm with the Attorney General pursuant to the Len Garment memorandum.

Magruder now receives a copy of the news summary. He says he needs another copy for Harry Flemming and Ken Rietz.

\_\_\_\_\_, Approve additional copy of news summary

~~\_\_\_\_\_,~~ Cancel Magruder's news summary

\_\_\_\_\_, Other

001098

Magruder submitted memoranda to the Attorney General on transient voters, women in the Campaign, the Middle American, and the functions of a Citizens organization. The Attorney General has not yet reviewed them. The one on the Middle American received substantial input from Colson but is very long. You will receive it for reading on one of the trips this month.

G → JSM  
Allin  
12/13

WH



DECEMBER 6, 1971

Camp 11

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

December 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN G/x H

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

Jeb Magruder met with the Attorney General for four hours on December 4. Some of the matters covered require decisions by you:

1) Julie Nixon Eisenhower - "Registration '72"

Jeb Magruder has recommended to the Attorney General that Julie Nixon Eisenhower become the Honorary Chairman for "Registration '72", which is a joint registration effort by the Committee (Ken Rietz) and the RNC (Ed DeBolt) in the largest counties of California, Florida, and Texas. This position would require Julie to "make appearances, write letters, and otherwise get publicity" for these registration drives. In terms of a particular scheduling requirement, she would have to appear at the RNC meeting this week for the announcement. Dave Parker reports that she will be in Virginia and so is available. The Attorney General defers entirely to you on whether she should become Honorary Chairman. The Attorney General feels that you should consider if this appointment of Julie Nixon Eisenhower as Honorary Chairman of Registration '72 is "too gimmicky". (The original memorandum to the Attorney General is attached at Tab A.)

Yes, Julie Nixon Eisenhower is to be named  
Honorary Chairman of Registration '72

No, Julie is not to be Honorary Chairman

Other

2) RNC Budget - White House Support

The RNC is currently preparing their budget for 1972. The Attorney General will receive a report from Tom

DECEMBER 6, 1971

-2-

Evans today on the general financial condition of the RNC. A copy of the report will be forwarded for you. In 1971 the White House subsidiary account was \$500,000. This paid for advancements, White House special events and receptions, the Colson/Klein printing and distribution of materials, and the Vice President's expenses. Tom Evans of the RNC wants to continue to have a White House account of 500 to pay for these support activities. The Attorney General estimates that there will be an additional 1,000 in "political expenses" for the White House in 1972. The Attorney General believes that there should be a single White House political account of 1,500 for 1972. According to Magruder the Attorney General believes this account should be controlled at the Committee instead of the RNC to assure a unified accounting mechanism and to protect against any "McCloskey type" criticism of the RNC for giving financial assistance to the political activities of the President.

Since Tom Evans and the RNC must be told before the RNFC meeting this week, the Attorney General asks that you consider this general approach without the specific budget information from the RNC.

Recommendation:

That you approve of the transfer of all "political expenses" for the White House to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

H. Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Comment

If you approve I will inform the Attorney General through Magruder. Upon receipt of the detailed RNC budget information Bruce Kehrli (as the new Staff Secretary) and I will develop recommended procedures with Hugh Sloan and Jeb Magruder.

3) The Nixon Re-Elector

Jeb Magruder, Lyn Nofziger and Frank Leonard prepared the materials at Tab B regarding a "campaign publication to get the message out to the organization". The format would be similar to that of 1968. The Attorney General basically thinks it would be a good idea but asks whether you believe it is a generally good or bad idea. If you

000176

give your general approval, Magruder will have Peter Dailey prepare a detailed proposal for review by you and the Attorney General. Frank Leonard would have primary responsibility for the publication that may be called the Nixon Re-Elector.

Recommendation:

WH

That you approve the general idea of a tabloid publication for the Campaign similar to the Nixon Re-Elector, subject to review of the Peter Dailey detailed proposal.

Approve

Disapprove

Comment

001114

4) Committee Press Relations

The question of whether and at what salary Van Shumway is to move to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President raises several related matters. According to Magruder, the Attorney General assumes that the President will announce his candidacy for re-election on January 6. Although Magruder is not privy to the decision he believes that there will be just a low-key Presidential statement. The candidacy will not be announced at a press conference or during a "conversation with the President" as had been suggested. It may be that the Attorney General has reviewed these matters with the President.

The Attorney General expects that after the announcement, Ziegler will not answer "political questions" but rather will refer them to the Committee. This means that on January 6 the Committee must have a sophisticated individual to handle the questions. If Shumway cannot definitely be transferred to the Committee by January 6 or some other date certain, the Attorney General believes the Committee must hire someone else. The Attorney General respects the fact that Shumway must be replaced but also appreciates Malek's assessment of the chances of finding a replacement: 50/50 for Shumway replacement by January 3; 75/25 by January 15; but 25% chance that it will be impossible to obtain a Shumway replacement that is acceptable to Colson and Klein. The Attorney General wants the press man at the Committee to be compatible with Colson. The Attorney General rejected the very capable because Colson objected.

malek - "good man" - best note? - 10/13/71 - Disagree

he is not rejected - his a lack

DECEMBER 6, 1971

-4-

WH

001115

G → JON 12/8

H

Other

Who do you have instead?

In the meantime, Ann Dore, a New York PR person recruited by Magruder and Miller, will begin handling some press relations at the Committee, work with the 10 Nixon State Chairmen to prevent another New Hampshire press announcement disaster, and eventually work with the surrogate candidates on radio and TV coverage. She begins December 13.

The net result of this sketch of the Committee's press/PR situation is that you must decide whether Malek should be instructed to have a replacement for Shumway locked with Colson and Klein by a date, hopefully January 3.

Yes, Malek must find a Shumway replacement by a date certain

H

No, Malek should assist Magruder in finding someone else to handle press relations at the Committee

Other

5) General Counsel to the Committee

WH



Gordon Liddy will become General Counsel to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President on December 14. He has been working with Bud Krogh on the declassification project. Liddy is paid \$26,000 by the Domestic Council. Bud Krogh had been urging Ken Cole to raise his salary, but nothing happened during the freeze. Krogh talked with the Attorney General and recommended that Liddy receive an increase. Dean agrees that Liddy should receive an increase to \$30,000 because of his age (41), experience, and prior sacrifice. The Attorney General said the Committee will hire Liddy, and he won't be paid any less than he is receiving from the Domestic Council. Magruder has put a hold on Liddy's transfer to the Committee at \$30,000 because of the rule that no one goes to the Committee a salary higher than he is receiving at the White House. Dean and Krogh are familiar with this rule, but strongly urge an exception in this case.

*Handwritten:*  
Liddy  
\$30,000  
OK

*Handwritten:*  
G → Jm  
12/8  
→ Dean  
12/8

Grant exception, Liddy to receive 30,000 per annum at Committee

Deny exception, Liddy accept job at 26,000 or find someone else

Other

The subject of salaries at the Committee appears in the talking paper for you to cover with the Attorney General. An updated version of this talking paper of subjects pending will be submitted separately.

*Handwritten:* When? C.

Other matters which Magruder discussed with the Attorney General which do not require decisions by you include:

1) Advertising Advisory Group

✓ The Advertising Advisory Group (list attached at Tab C) will hold its first meeting December 9. The group will meet periodically to advise Peter Dailey.

2) Direct Mail Fund Raising

✓ The Richard A. Viguerie Company will probably handle direct mail fund raising for the Committee. In addition, the Attorney General has authorized the Viguerie Company to conduct direct mail fund raising for former Senator McCarthy on the condition that he run "in another party", not as a Democrat.

000179

DECEMBER 6, 1971

-6-

3) Americans for Agnew Group

✓ The Attorney General decided against doing anything to encourage or discourage the Americans for Agnew group that recently sent out a 50,000 mailing over John Wayne's signature.

4) The Middle Level Campaign Strategy Group

The middle level Campaign Strategy Group met on November 29 and December 1. The minutes are attached at Tab D. The minutes cover New Hampshire Campaign details, Campaign publications, and suggestions for the Florida primary.

AS - believed that C would let you  
out this one. If you C some  
you can't in the car tonight.  
L.

000180

DECEMBER 16, 1971

Camp 12

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

December 16, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN G

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

Finances

- 1) If the Attorney General and Secretary Stans have reached a final decision on Stans being Nixon Finance Chairman for 1972, Herb Kalmbach, Lee Nunn, and Hugh Sloan haven't been told. Stans told Sloan he would accept if asked, but he had not been asked yet. Stans continues to advise Nunn and Sloan. At their most recent meeting on December 14, Stans agreed to begin spending one-half day a week beginning January 3 at an office at 1701.
- 2) The current financial situation at 1701 is 2,000 raised, 650 disbursed for salaries and operating expenses of 1701, leaving a balance of 1,350 in the bank, primarily in checks not cash.
- 3) In spite of Ken Cole's very real concern that not enough money is being brought in now before the legislation, Stans has decided to have Nunn and Sloan approach only the standard, reliable, heavy contributors at this time. Others will not be approached until the Campaign spending legislation is sent to the President for signature. Max Friedersdorf and Ken Cole report that the bill and conference report may not be approved by the House until after January 23 at the earliest. The bill has a 60 day period, after the President signs it, before becoming effective. During this time, Stans would resign from the Cabinet and begin collecting in earnest.
- 4) Ken Cole urges that Stans be asked by the President now to begin collecting immediately because there is only 90 days left in which to collect the money for the Campaign. This matter is covered in your talking paper for the Attorney General.
- 5) Herb Kalmbach has exceeded his personal goal of 12,000 in pledges. However, he is now depressed and angry. The problem is his relationship with Peter Flanigan, who will

000203

neither return Kalmbach's telephone calls nor reach an agreement regarding consideration of contributors for ambassadorships. Upon learning that C.V. Whitney would not become Ambassador to Spain, Kalmbach was very upset when Flanigan didn't have the courtesy to call him and discuss the "commitments" to DeRoulet and Symington. Instead, Lee Nunn called Kalmbach on behalf of Dan Kingsley for obviously pro forma input.

Fred Malek has also expressed his dissatisfaction with the recommendations for Spain.

Harry Dent

*Dent* 1) Dent called you on December 11 to discuss the southern strategy for 1972. Higby took the call and recommended you talk with him. Higby's memorandum is in your talking paper drawer.

2) Dent prepared a memorandum for the President which reports on the Southern GOP Conference. David and Julie, the Vice President, Art Fletcher, and Dolf Droge were all excellent. The only major news item was the "total willingness to add 'color' (blacks) to the southern strategy".

3) An analysis for the Attorney General of the Senate races in the southern and border states indicates that: either Louie Nunn or Senator Cooper must go for the Kentucky seat to help the President carry the state; Senator Gambrell is vulnerable in Georgia but for any Republican to win in Georgia would be a difficult task; although Sparkman looks old, Red Blount, Jim Martin, or Bert Nettles would have a hard time capturing the Alabama Senate seat; there is no first rate Republican candidate for Jordan's seat in North Carolina; Flemming thinks Spong's Virginia seat should be conceded in 1972, but Dent is working on a Byrd coalition candidate; Dewey Bartlett will have trouble beating Ed Edmondson in Oklahoma.

4) The Texas Governor's race could result in a defeat of the Democrats were it not for the split in the Republican party.

Murray Chotiner

1) Harry Flemming is working on Chotiner's suggestion that Ambassador Bob Hill be a candidate for Delegate-at-Large supporting the President in New Hampshire.

000204

DECEMBER 16, 1971

-3-

WH

\_\_\_\_ Yes, Tom Evans check with the Attorney General  
on Hill's directorship

\_\_\_\_ No, Haldeman will handle personally

\_\_\_\_ Other

*Shy out of it completely*

Pat Buchanan

001254

1) He recently reviewed the entire Democratic Contenders tracking and attack capability. Buchanan believes that the RNC is performing its research function well, that the Committee is succeeding in its attempts to implement Buchanan's suggestions for attack, and that no additional resources need to be assigned to this operation now.

2) George Wallace is appealing to the Republican right, with his blue ribbon panel report on the poor state of National Defense under President Nixon.

3) An excellent analysis of the McCloskey candidacy in New Hampshire and suggestions for appropriate responses is attached at Tab A.

4) You asked that John Sears submit his political suggestions through Buchanan. Sears' first memo is attached at Tab B.

5) If the Administration can give Ashbrook and some of the Manhattan 12 line item proof of hard, tangible items in the Strategic Weapons, Research and Development budgets of Defense. Buchanan believes Ashbrook will withhold his announcement scheduled for December 27.

\_\_\_\_ Have Buchanan get the information from Haig and inform the Conservatives with Colson

\_\_\_\_ Tell Buchanan the information is not available

\_\_\_\_ Other

WH

WH

Chuck Colson

1) In discussion with a Democrat from Illinois, Colson obtained some accurate helpful background information on the Illinois political situation. This was transmitted to Flemming and Magruder. They disagree with Colson's assessment that "is a very bad mistake. He's a nice guy but definitely not heavy enough to pull all of the strings together".

2) He met with Senator Dole and established a system authorizing Noel Koch to issue statements in Dole's name. In a follow-up meeting of Dole and Koch, Nofziger "happened" to be there, and the old dispute between Nofziger's "intransigence" and Colson's need for a spokesman emerged. Koch can still issue statements for Dole, but Koch believes Nofziger is "doing a job on (Dole) instead of for him". Dole likes Nofziger but is trying to see the Attorney General about firing some of Nofziger's people. Dole and Koch are working on getting the Democrats to hold hearings on the Pentagon papers.

001255

John Dean

Working with Fred Scribner at the RNC, Dean was able to have the Ripon Society suit against the RNC re-cast so that there will not be an attempt to contest the allocation of delegates in the 1972 Republican National Convention.

Magruder's Projects

1) The most recent weekly report submitted to the Attorney General is attached at Tab C. It is too long with too little hard information.

2) The minutes from the Campaign Strategy Group meeting of December 16 are attached at Tab D. You may want to read this because it includes Peter Dailey's strategy statement for advertising during the Campaign. Also included are the reasons "Re-Elect the President" was chosen over "Re-Elect our President" (which was your choice). Finally, the alternate dates for the President to announce for a second term are discussed.

3) Additional office space at 1701 is being acquired at \$7.1 per square foot so that the entire Campaign operation will be in one building. The great bulk of the space is to be acquired February 1, 1972.

WH

4) Bill Timmons, as Chairman of the Convention Task Force, continues dealing with Senator Dole and the RNC on all procedural questions related to the Convention. General approval is sought periodically from the Attorney General. The detailed information need not be reviewed by you.

5) Magruder met with Cliff White as a follow-up to the Attorney General's meeting with White. White is "very bullish" on the President's chances for re-election and ability to handle the Conservatives.

6) Clayton Yeutter, the Farm Director for the Campaign, began work on December 16. There is no longer a need for a White House Farmer, but according to Magruder, the Attorney General wants Yeutter to have more substantive input with Whitaker. Yeutter will become a top spokesman for the President.

7) The Attorney General approved the Citizens Committee plan submitted by Tom Evans of Mudge Rose and Rob Odle. The Attorney General politely rejected Tom Evans' offer to head up the Citizens operation.

000207





JANUARY 18, 1972

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

January 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

Finances

1) Herb Kalmbach met with Messrs. Jacobsen and Nelson on January the 14th concerning the milk money. Kalmbach had a "good meeting"; the money will continue to come in, but the milk people do not want to continue to deal with Reeves & Harrison (Chotiner's firm). Kalmbach would take over this project as a special assignment. He will ask the Attorney General on January the 20th. The Attorney General approved of Kalmbach meeting with Jacobsen even though Milt Seimer is Jacobsen's law partner and Treasurer of the Muskie campaign. Kalmbach informed Colson of the meeting but would not tell Colson who asked him to see Jacobsen. Kalmbach believes someone should give all information about the milk situation to Colson. I told him Colson was no longer involved.

Recommendation:

That you inform Colson of the milk situation, and that Kalmbach be asked not to discuss the milk situation with Colson in the future.

G-7K  
1/19  
G-2CWC

Approve **H** Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

- ✓ 2) DeWitt Wallace is in Kalmbach's 100 club.  
✓ 3) Kalmbach's pledges total 12,435.

4) At Kalmbach's invitation, I attended a finance meeting chaired by Secretary Stans on January 12. Dan Hofgren, Tom Evans (N.Y.), Lee Nunn, Jeb Magruder, Harry Flemming, Harry Dent, Lang Washburn, Hugh Sloan, and Gordon Liddy reviewed the campaign spending legislation. The legislation will become effective 60 days from the date of the President's signature (expected around April 1). The limit of 10¢ per voter on all communications (broadcast, newspapers, telephones, etc.) will be enforced by requiring a certificate from the national campaign organization. The definition of contribution is very broad, covering "anything of value", contributed

000337

employees, local bill boards, air travel and other hidden forms of "assistance" in the past. The disclosure provisions are equally tough, requiring public record of any contribution above \$10. To inform the public the Controller General must receive complex, detailed forms on March 10, June 10, September 10 and 15, and five days before the election. The paper work will be so voluminous that, according to Stans, the number of people working in finance to keep the records will exceed the size of the campaign staff. The main positive aspect is that the \$5,000 limit on individual contributions has been dropped. However, there is full disclosure of the individual giving.

X 5) You asked to see the text of the fund raising letter that Lee Nunn wants to send to 20,000 of the 500,000 White House support list. One of 10 variable letters with the same tone is attached at Tab A. *The letter is terrible - is not OK*

Harry Dent

*and must be reviewed for substance by Price or one of our people.*

He is urging the Attorney General to move Bill Murfin, the SBA Director in New Orleans, to Florida to help the Nixon man Tommy Thomas with the primary. Dent is also asking the Attorney General for authority to assist a New York redistricting project that would aid conservative Congressman Jim Delaney.

Wallace Henley, Dent's man monitoring George Wallace, reports that his sources believe that "we ought to assume that he will do suprisingly well in the Democratic primaries in Florida, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, that he will launch an effort this spring to preserve his third party option and that he will double back as a third party candidate after Miami.

Dent holds a biweekly political issues meeting pursuant to your discussion with the Attorney General on November 4.

The minutes of the most recent meeting on national defense problems and the Nixon Administration's response are attached at Tab B.

In light of your meeting with Harry Dent on political matters last week, are there any projects that I should be following up on? *NO*

Cliff Miller

*Good* He has assumed control of the public relations efforts of the Committee. Van Shumway and Tom Girard will handle most discussions with Washington correspondents. Shumway will be able to go "on the record" and Magruder may be quoted as a "high level spokesman". Ann Dore is making the arrangements

000338

for the Nixon State Committee announcements. She is receiving unanimous praise from locals, Flemming's organization, and newsmen.

✓ Magruder and Miller submitted a memorandum to the Attorney General on January 7 requesting authority to grant a feature article on the campaign's youth activity by Hays Corey of Time. The Attorney General approved but the emphasis will be on the "President's positions and interest" instead of any campaign strategy discussion. The memorandum, with a list of the youth officially recruited to work on the President's behalf, is attached at Tab C.

✓ Martha Mitchell and Mesdames Romney, Rogers, Connally, and Bush will be interviewed by Barbara Walters of NBC on "Not for Women Only", which follows the "Today" show. The first segment will begin January 31st.

✓ Cliff Miller, and in his absence Van Shumway, will sit in on Colson's Tuesday and Thursday meetings on news planning. Magruder will not attend. This is part of Miller's project to increase contact with Colson as a means of liaison between Colson and the Attorney General.

✓ Miller will suggest to the Attorney General that he chair a meeting every other week of you, Ehrlichman, Flanigan, Finch, Garment, Colson, and Dent to discuss the Campaign.

RNC Convention

✓ Bill Timmons and John Dean conducted a security survey of San Diego last week. They obtained the support requested.

✓ Timmons is also asking whether you have any objection to permitting part of the California delegation, including Governor Reagan, to take some of the extra rooms in the San Diego Sheraton, which will be the President's headquarters hotel. The Attorney General agrees with Timmons that the California delegation should receive this special treatment.

Recommendation:

That Timmons be informed that you are to receive this information but not for action. Timmons should receive instructions

*OK by me*

*Don't have a view*

*G. J. Timmons  
1/20*

000339

on the Convention from the Attorney General, not from you.

Approve ✓ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

Tom Evans - RNC

Discussion with Tom Evans on January 4 disclosed that he is receiving increasing adverse comment about Harry Flemming's activities in the field; that the relationship with Malek and Kingsley on patronage is excellent; that Evans is very concerned about his lack of input with Rose Mary Woods on White House invitations; that Nofziger's lack of organizational ability will damage the President in California; that Evans plans to make several communications staff changes in connection with Nofziger's departure (Malek has been advised; you have a talking paper for the Attorney General).

Magruder's Projects

1) Schedule Matters - Magruder asked the Attorney General whether Secretary Connally should be scheduled into non-political functions in primary and key states. The Attorney General responded yes but "at his (Connally's) discretion".

will move to 1701 around February 1, at his current salary of \$31,800.

2) Congressional Support for the President - Bill Timmons will seek to have Congressmen sign petitions supporting the President to undercut Congressmen Ashbrook and McCloskey.

3) Older Voters - Dan Todd has been hired to supervise the Committee's program for older voters. Todd served as Arthur Flemming's assistant for the White House Conference on Aging. Todd recommended to the Attorney General that John Martin be removed as head of the Administration on Aging and replaced with a performance oriented individual reporting directly to Secretary Richardson. No decision has been reached. In addition to Todd, Arthur Flemming and Jamie McLane of Colson's staff are charged with overall responsibility for the older voter.

4) Polling - The results from Florida, Kentucky, New Hampshire, and Wisconsin may be received from Teeter on January 24. Teeter originally committed to delivering the results to you the last week of December. A separate memorandum on polling is included in this action folder.

The Nixon Finance Committee contracted with Market Opinion Research as master with the other pollsters as subsidiaries.

000340

✓ 5) Security - Magruder has recommended, and the Attorney General is considering, substantially improving the security at 1701 by adding more guards and anti-bugging devices.

6) News Summary - You decided on December 2nd that Magruder should not receive a copy of the news summary. This severely restricts his ability to respond to inquiries from the Attorney General and the White House. Magruder also suggests that the Attorney General receive a copy of the news summary. According to Magruder, there will be no problem of other Cabinet Officers not receiving the summary because the Attorney General will leave the Cabinet to run the Campaign. The fact that Senator Dole and Lyn Nofziger receive copies of the news summary is used by Magruder to buttress his argument that he and the Attorney General should receive copies.

G → Allen  
1/20

✓ AF Approve, the Attorney General and Magruder to receive copies of the news summary

\_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove, no copies of the news summary to 1701

\_\_\_\_\_ Raise again when the Attorney General moves to the Campaign

\_\_\_\_\_ Other

✓ 7) Opposition Material - Through various sources Ashbrook's first mailing, Muskie's plans for newspaper ads on youth on January 26th, Muskie's fund raising mailing, minutes of Muskie's Domestic Issues meeting, and YAF's confidential mailing have been received. These materials are attached at Tab D.

✓ 8) White House Staff/Campaign - Magruder is very concerned about suggestions that the Campaign has "raided" the White House Staff. He requests that you read the memorandum at Tab E which lists each person from the White House who is at the Committee and the reason for the change. *Baloney*

✓ 9) Interest Group Reports - You have seen the reports on Ethnic, Spanish-speaking, Blue Collar, and Middle America prepared by Magruder's Task Forces. The Attorney General did not want to go through such long reports and detailed tabs according to Magruder. Therefore, a summary with essential decisions has been prepared, but this has not been reviewed by the Attorney General. A copy is attached at Tab F.

000341

JANUARY 18, 1972

-6-

✓ 10) Florida Primary - Magruder submitted the operating plan for the Florida campaign to the Attorney General on January the 15th. He approved the plan (attached at Tab G), but decided to hold the telephone plan and limit the mailing until the results of the polls are received from Bob Teeter.

✓ 11) New Hampshire - On January the 15th the Attorney General authorized Magruder to proceed with a 15,000 telephone operation in New Hampshire that will attempt to reach every registered Republican in the state. The telephone plan dovetails with the direct mail effort.

✓ 12) Magruder's weekly report for the Attorney General is attached at Tab H.

*I have not read the  
tabs - except for E.*

000342

FEBRUARY 1, 1972

Copy 1 of 2 copies

6

February 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN G

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

Finances

1) Herb Kalmbach reviewed his current financial situation and related hard decisions with the Attorney General and Secretary Stans on January 28. Kalmbach asked that you consider:

*no sir*  
*6-7/8*  
*2/8*  
a) Of the 1.2 fund Kalmbach has a balance of 900 plus under his personal control. From the original 1.2, 100 went to Lee Nunn for the Kentucky Governorship Race; 50 went to Caulfield for Sandwedge; and 70 has been disbursed to Derge for polling over the last six months. Of the 900, 230 is in "green" boxes, 570 is in a New York checking account and 120 is in a Newport checking account;

b) In light of the campaign spending legislation, Stans, Kalmbach, and Dean recommend that the 690 in accounts be spread back into legal committees and kept under Finance Chairman Stans' control. The 230 green would be put in a Riggs box with access by any combination of two of the following people: Tom Evans, New York -- *remained in green* France Raine, Jr. (who Kalmbach wants to use generally in the finance area) -- and Kalmbach. If this recommendation is not accepted Kalmbach is willing to retain personal control of the 900 and run the very high risk of violating the criminal provisions of the campaign spending legislation. Stans is opposed to paying for any polls other than through a correct committee; the risk from using green is just too high. *OK*

Recommendation:

*2/8*  
That the advice of Stans, Kalmbach, and Dean be followed in that the 690 would be put in legal committees; that only the 230 green would be held under Kalmbach's personal control; and that any polling would be paid for by regular Nixon Finance Committees.

Approve *H* Disapprove

Comment

*G-7/8*  
*2/8*

*11/7/8: make it 350 green + hold for us*

000440

c) Kalmbach is very concerned about his involvement in the milk producers situation. He believes that Jacobsen and Nelson will deliver though they have cut the original 2,000 commitment back to 1,000. Kalmbach's concern centers around the recent press disclosures that link Jack Gleason and the '70 campaign election funding. Kalmbach will accept the risk of being subpoenaed by the court in connection with the Nader milk suit. The Attorney General believes Kalmbach should continue to handle the milk project, but Kalmbach wants your advice.

Recommendation:

That Kalmbach not be involved in the milk project because of the risk of disclosure.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

*I'll die w/ AG*

e) Governor Nelson Rockefeller is in Kalmbach's 100 club with a 250 commitment.

2) Stans will officially move to the Nixon Finance Committee on February 16. In the meantime, he, Kalmbach, Hofgren, Nunn, and Sloan are conducting a 60-day blitz to get funds in before the campaign spending legislation becomes law.

When Stans arrives at 1701 he will send a personal letter to the 5000/\$3000+ contributors. He will also authorize a much larger Walter Wentz -- Readers Digest direct mail appeal from various lists.

The current financial position of 1701 is 3,600 received, 1,300 disbursed, leaving a 1,600 balance of which only 50 is in green.

Stans is moving into operational responsibility, but there is still no budget set for the various parts of the 1701 efforts.

Through Kalmbach, Stans is requesting Executive Mess Privileges. As you may recall, Cabinet Officers have



FEBRUARY 1, 1972

-3-

honorary memberships in the regular White House Staff Mess. To my knowledge, only Secretary Hodgson uses this privilege.

Recommendation:

*G-302 2/3* That Stans receive Executive Mess privileges.

Approve 4 Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

Harry Dent

- 1) He believes that the President's "drop by" at the Bob Brown dinner was one of the most important, successful, politically astute moves made toward blacks in this Administration;
- 2) Hugh Chatham may seek and win the North Carolina Senate seat in 1972; Pete Domenici may beat Dave Cargo for the nomination to seek the New Mexico Senate seat;
- 3) Thurston Morton may lead a drive to get Louie Nunn into the Kentucky Senate race if there is some financial assistance;

Recommendation:

*G-302 2/3* If you have not discussed the Dent/Brown theory with the Attorney General, Dent should be advised to do so and then follow the Attorney General's advice on the disposition of the Urban League request.

Approve 4 Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

FEBRUARY 1, 1972

-4-

3) Rose Mary Woods and Clark MacGregor were invited to Harry Dent's Political Issues Group meeting but did not attend. At that meeting all strongly urged that you tell Frank Shakespeare to make sure no USIA prestige poll similar to the one that damaged Nixon in 1960 is conducted in 1972. A talking paper was prepared for you, but there was only a "check mark" on the cover memorandum (original attached at Tab A) with no indication whether you accepted or rejected the advice of the Political Issues group.

Yes, Haldeman will cover with Shakespeare

No, the Attorney General will cover with Shakespeare

Neither Haldeman nor the Attorney General will cover it, drop the suggestion

Other *1/21/72*

According to Magruder, rumors are circulating in the Washington Press Corps that Shakespeare will be leaving USIA to join the Campaign. Magruder checked with the Attorney General and he confirmed that Shakespeare will not join the Campaign.

Fred LaRue

He has begun sitting in the Campaign Strategy meetings, working with Flemming, and generally making a contribution to the Campaign.

The Attorney General has asked LaRue to assume supervisory control of the RNC. In that connection, LaRue has asked that you send the memorandum attached at Tab B to the White House Staff. It would enable LaRue to determine who is asking for what at the RNC. *That's ridiculous*

Cliff Miller

On January 27 Miller told the Attorney General that Harry Flemming and the field operation needed Fred LaRue to add stature and ability. The Attorney General agreed and plans on meeting with Flemming and LaRue this week.

The Attorney General told Miller that he would set the date of his official move to 1701 in a discussion with the President on January 29. Miller does not know what was decided.

000443

RNC Convention

- 1) John Dean summarized an Intelligence Evaluation Committee report on the demonstrations planned for the Republican National Convention in San Diego (Tab C);

Jack Gleason

As you know, Jack Gleason's name has appeared in the recent "milk money" stories in the STAR. Gleason is "sick and fed up with this type of material appearing in the press". Gleason blames Bob O'Dell and Eleanor Williams at the RNC. However, Gleason is also mad at Colson stemming from Colson's "summoning" him to his office and "accusing" Gleason of leaking derogatory information to the press about Colson. Gleason is seeking advice whether he should have a quiet, off the record, discussion with reporters Jules Whitcover and Polk to demonstrate that Gleason is a "nice" guy. It's hard to imagine a worse idea than having Gleason talk with reporters, but told Gleason I would check.

Yes, Gleason see reporters

☒ No, Gleason should continue to avoid reporters

Other

Don Rumsfeld

One memorandum on the conservative recruitment procedure in England arrived. An anonymous memorandum on the Indiana situation urges cultivation of Irwin Miller.

FEBRUARY 1, 1972

-6-

*G-2 Peter 4/1*  
Magruder's Projects

1) Schedule Matters -- Updated lists of surrogate candidates' appearances in New Hampshire and Florida are attached at Tab E. *What are colors?*

*2/18*  
2) Older Voters -- You asked what the various Administration Officials were doing to cultivate the older voters. Ken Cole does not receive reports from Vicki Keller of the Domestic Council but does regularly review her work. But Evans, Colson's older voter's project manager is following an older voter plan developed in Colson's office. A final version of the report will be submitted to you and the Attorney General. Keller and Evans are working with Arthur Flemming and Danny Todd of the Committee to Re-Elect the President. *Make arrangements for*

*G-2 MEX 2/10*  
3) Magruder as Spokesman -- Magruder was quite upset by your January 17 memorandum to the Attorney General indicating that Magruder should not be a spokesman for the Campaign. Magruder emphasizes that he and the Attorney General agree but that since May until February 7 there was no one else who could "get out the lines requested". There were only three series of interviews and most were quite positive. Magruder anticipates another series around the time of the Attorney General's move, but Shumway will handle the Committee's relations with the press at that time. *John*

4) Polling -- The Attorney General directed Magruder to give Bob Teeter three weeks to deliver on his poll results scheduled or seek employment elsewhere. Magruder believes Teeter will now begin delivering the results and the projects you have requested. However, the Campaign polling system is currently working poorly. You are receiving chunks of survey data with no recommendations as to what should be held by you and the Attorney General and what should be distributed to Peter Dailey, Harry Flemming and other members of the Campaign Strategy Group. I would welcome the assignment of reviewing these materials, recommending data for release, and processing requests to Teeter. One alternative, which Magruder is urging, is a meeting with you, the Attorney General, Teeter, and Magruder to resolve the polling problems of the quantity and quality of Teeter's work and the access to polling information.

\_\_\_\_\_ Haldeman meet with the Attorney General, Magruder, and Teeter

\_\_\_\_\_ Strachan review polling materials

*11*  
\_\_\_\_\_ Other

*G-2 JMA 4/3 2/18*  
000445

WH

Copy #1 of ~~two~~ 3

February 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

001299

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Political MattersFinances

1) Herb Kalmbach will serve as Associate Chairman of the Finance Committee under Secretary Stans. The Attorney General concurs.

2) Kalmbach cleared with the Attorney General and Stans the 350 in green under your unquestioned personal control. A separate box of green is being developed for the Campaign.

3) Kalmbach will receive an additional 100 from Dick Watson in Paris raising Watson's total from 200 to 300.

4) Kalmbach is working with the milk people to increase the 233 currently banked to 1,000 by April 7.

6) Kalmbach granted the full-time gardner at San Clemente, Brigado Garcia, a \$25 per month raise bringing his monthly salary to \$539.00.

7) Concerning the Star story on Kalmbach, discussions with John Dean, Fred Malek, Jack Gleason, Hugh Sloan, Jeb Magruder, and Herb Kalmbach developed these tentative conclusions:

a) The material is primarily the result of thorough investigative reporting by skilled newspapermen;

b) The material was probably not directly leaked but rather the result of careless, loose talk disclosing the only new information, Kalmbach's name;

c) Information from 1968 may have come from Dan Hofgren (Herb Kalmbach lectured him harshly); the 1970 information may have come from (Jack Gleason and

Herb Kalmbach say she is vindictive and cannot be influenced) and the 1972 information may have come from Jon Huntsman, who was mentioning Kalmbach's name to people when leaving the White House Staff. Kalmbach personally talked to him. These

WH

001300

tentative conclusions regarding sources of information have not been confirmed by polygraphs.

*G-7 Malek 2/22*  
*excellent*  
8) The budget committee for the Committee for the Re-Election of the President will be Stans and the Attorney General as Co-Chairman, Herb Kalmbach as Associate Chairman, and Lee Nunn, Cliff Miller, and Fred Malek as members. Magruder is not on the Committee. Paul Barrik, a Stans' recruit, will act as Controller and Hugh Sloan will continue as Treasurer.

✓ 9) Within the strictly finance area, Stans will be Chairman and Leonard Firestone, Gus Levy, Max Fisher, John Rollins, and Mrs. Ogden Phipps will serve as Co-Chairmen. In House the Vice Chairmen will be Dan Hofgren, Lee Nunn, and Newell Weed.

✓ 10) Stans' goal of 10,000 in by the Campaign Spending Legislation effective date of April 7 is approximately one-third complete.

✓ 11) The Campaign has raised 5,000 but spent 2,000 in its first nine months. Expenses for January totalled 550 while projected expenses for February are 900. The Attorney General has asked Magruder for a list of the 124 employees and their salaries.

*G-7 Malek 2/22*  
*Malek could raise a pertinent question now then at budget Comm. mtg.*  
Harry Dent

✓ 1) Magruder believes he was the source of the February 14 Evans and Novak story on political aides at the White House criticizing the "consciously aiding" comment you made. The meeting could have been the Campaign Strategy Group meeting of February 7. Magruder has re-cast the Campaign Strategy Group to exclude Dent.

✓ 2) Dent advised the Attorney General that if Governor Nunn does not seek John Sherman Cooper's Senate seat, Robert Gable should be encouraged. Gable is a wealthy, loyal Republican.

✓ 3) Dent advised the Vice President that he should speak to the California Republican Assembly on April 8. Governor Reagan urged that the Vice President appear, and the Vice President accepted.

✓ 4) In the New Mexico Senate race Dave Cargo may cause problems in the GOP primary even though our 1970 candidate for Governor, Domenici, is the only one who could beat the Democrat, Jack Daniels.

WH

WH

001301

-3-

✓ 5) A nationwide voter turnout survey indicates that only in the South has there been a rise in voter turnout, while the key states, Ohio and Missouri, suffered a decline of 7.9% and 8.1% respectively between 1960 and 1968. The rise in the South is attributed to the black vote while the decline in certain states is attributed to apathy.

6) Wallace Henley monitors George Wallace for Harry Dent through

✓ A third party challenge by Wallace in November is not anticipated but could develop if Wallace receives enough money and publicity.

7) West Virginia Governor Arch Moore will seek re-election according to Dent because he has a poll showing him ahead of Jay Rockefeller. The President leads all ✓ Democratic contenders in West Virginia by at least 13% when Wallace is in the race.

✓ 8) David Treen lost the Louisiana Gubernatorial race to Congressman Ed Edwards because of the solidarity of the Democratic Party and the heavy black vote. Dent believes that this relatively narrow defeat augurs well for the President even if Wallace is in the race.

✓  
Don Rumsfeld

✓ He forwarded an anonymous political assessment of Hawaii which indicates that "the likelihood of the President carrying Hawaii seems very slender". There are no races state wide in Hawaii in 1972.

Tom Evans

✓ 1) The primary responsibilities of the RNC in the 1972 Campaign will be voter registration, voter turnout, and ballot security. The registration drive (Target '72) began in Florida and Texas in January and will continue through the spring. Ed DeBolt at the RNC is the man responsible to register 1 1/2 million Republicans by May 15 and 8 million by October 1972.

WH

001302

2) Tom Evans asked Jeb Magruder to censure John Lofton for his POW wife call last week. Evans does not feel he controls Lofton. Chuck Colson is exerting more control over Lofton and Monday with only occasional complaints from Evans.

*Don't censure him for one mistake - he's done 100 things right*

Charlie McWhorter

During the campaign he will continue to travel at AT&T's expense. However, he has terminated his formal ties with the Vice President's office to protect against any suggestion of impropriety.

### Magruder's Projects

1) Advertising -- The newspaper ads that Peter Dailey prepared and you reviewed on February 14 will run in New Hampshire. You did not view the TV spots which are not scheduled to run in New Hampshire. The decision as to the extent of the media campaign in Florida will be made when the Florida follow-up telephone poll arrives.

2) New Hampshire/Florida -- The extensive direct mail (\$75,000 in New Hampshire and \$100,000 in Florida) and telephone (\$25,000 in New Hampshire) campaigns are continuing as planned.

3) Wisconsin -- A campaign plan prepared by the Davis Agency for Nixon State Chairman John MacIver has been submitted to Magruder for review before submission to the Attorney General.

4) Farm -- Clayton Yeutter, the farm director at 1701, hired John Foltz, visited Secretary Butz, farm Senators and Congressmen, and worked with USDA on the rural development issue.

5) Elderly -- Fred Malek has been asked to "untangle" the White House/1701 confusion. His report is due March 1. Arthur Flemming is now scheduled by the 1701 speakers bureau. Danny Todd and Peter Dailey are re-working HEW films for the elderly.

6) Spokesmen Resources -- Schedules for New Hampshire, Florida and Wisconsin are submitted weekly.



WH

000687 -5-

7) California -- The California delegation list for the RNC Convention has been submitted to the Attorney General. The Los Angeles County list has not been completed.

The Attorney General authorized \$150,000 for a special 1,000,000 new young voters drive in California under the direction of Ken Rietz.

8) Campaign Strategy Group -- At the February 7 meeting the group approved the title for the campaign newspaper (The Re-Elector). Bob Teeter informed the group that the "President was in good shape in 17 of 19 target states, and was running ahead of his 1968 margin. Important issues are Vietnam, inflation, and order/calmness (in the President's favor), environment, race, health care (even), unemployment, crime/drugs (negative)."

9) Campaign Briefing -- Fred Malek and Jeb Magruder are considering a briefing for the White House Staff on the activities at the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

10) Media Monitoring -- Van Shumway is establishing state by state systems to review press coverage and to counteract negative comments. The Illinois program with weekly reports will serve as the model. The Attorney General does not receive the proposal, but Shumway is proceeding with Magruder's concurrence.

11) RNC Convention -- Timmons and Magruder have asked the Attorney General to establish a permanent office in San Diego with [redacted] as Executive Director. No decision has been reached. Timmons is meeting bi-weekly with Senator Dole, Representative John Rhodes, Dick Herman, John Dean and Bryce Harlow on plans for the Convention.

12) New York -- The Attorney General is using Bob Marik (generally considered the best man at 1701) as the staff man for regular contact with Governor Rockefeller's staff.

13) Magruder is seeking authority for approval of Campaign media by Cliff Miller instead of you for the White House. Repeated explanations to Magruder that you only want to see the material on an FYI basis have not convinced him that this is unnecessary. Magruder frequently finesses Miller (e.g. the infamous RNC film) in spite of the fact that Miller is the final media review for the Attorney General. However low your interest in the media materials you should continue to receive them on an FYI, not approval, basis.

*Right* WH

WH

001303

14) Magruder and Colson are increasingly at odds. The most recent dispute concerns the "line" as to whether Muskie should be personally attacked on his war stand. After your "consciously aiding" statement Magruder and Miller thought they had an agreement on behalf of the Attorney General that Colson was not to continue programming hits at Muskie. Colson continued the attack on Muskie through Cabinet and Hill spokesmen. Magruder plans on seeking authority from the Attorney General to be the only contact with the spokesmen to the express exclusion of Colson.

*This is not acceptable —  
Colson is acting under express  
instructions. Tell Magruder  
to talk to me if he has  
a problem —*

*H*

GJM  
2/16

WH

MARCH 3, 1972

March 3, 1972

Copy 1 of 2

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN G  
SUBJECT: Political Matters

Finances

1. Discussion with Herb Kalmbach covered five matters of interest:  
(a) he now has 13,300 in commitments;

(c) James Polk, the author of the Star article on Kalmbach will publish an expanded version in the next Harper's magazine; (d) the AG directed him to spend 50 in green (Kalmbach is not sure you are aware of the subject and asks that you talk to the AG if you have any questions); and

2. Lee Nunn indicates that the confidential goal for the campaign is 45,000. Nunn is working the lobbyists for money and Ohio as a special project. He is worried about the get-out-the-vote operation in general and Harry Flemming in particular.

3. Secretary Stans reviewed the Ray Price draft of the fund raising letter to be test mailed to 10,000 names on the 500,000 name White House support list. The revised version of letter with the Stans request is attached at Tab A.

Subject to review of the text of the letter, you approved the idea of a fund raising test mailing to those who have written to the President.

Recommendation:

That you authorize Secretary Stans to send the revised letter to the 10,000 test group.

Approve H

Disapprove is at least 1/2 to 1/3

Comment too long

4. Jack Gleason has been working quietly with the Stans fund raisers at 1701 and reports that progress is being made. Hugh Sloan is doing an excellent job according to Gleason. He has heard that Edward M. Kennedy will announce on March 17.

5. Fred Malek, Jeb Magruder, Chuck Colson and Bruce Kehrli met twice this week to settle on a White House support budget. The two problem areas are Colson's mailings (Colson asked for 900; Magruder urged 500) and the advancement's budget (Chapin asked for 1,580 and Malek and Magruder are trying to cut that down).

000478

MARCH 3, 1972

2

The Attorney General

OK  
1. The Attorney General has asked for Honorary Executive Mess Privileges. As a member of the Cabinet he had Honorary Mess Privileges. You granted Secretary Stans' request for Honorary Executive Mess privileges on February 3.

G-702227/6  
Jules  
Kehrli 7/6  
Recommendation:

That General Scowcroft be informed by Bruce Kehrli that the Attorney General is to be granted Honorary Executive Mess privileges.

Approve                      Disapprove                      Comment                     

2. The Attorney General began receiving the News Summary on March 1. Magruder receives the other copy that goes to 1701.

3. Kissinger had planned on recommending to the President that he send a letter to Ambassador Hill acknowledging receipt of his report on Spain. A check with the Attorney General through Magruder resulted in a delay of the President's letter until after the New Hampshire primary on March 7.

4. You decided on February 28, 1972 to accept Malek's recommendation and invite the Attorney General to the 8:15 a.m. meetings. Malek has informed the Attorney General who will begin attending on Tuesday, March 7. You may want to mention to the other attendees on Monday the fact that the Attorney General will be attending.

Harry Dent

✓  
2. Harry Dent has urged the Attorney General, and you and Ehrlichman by carbon copy, to have the Administration support the proposal to link Kansas City and Chicago with an interstate highway.

000479

3. Senator Mundt's seat is being actively sought by at least five Republicans. Dent is urging the Attorney General to encourage Congressman Ben Reifel to consider the Gubernatorial seat instead of Mundt's Senate seat.

Lyn Nofziger

Discussion with Nofziger on February 26 resulted in his agreement to send you copies of his memoranda to Governor Reagan regarding the California campaign. Nofziger sends copies to the Attorney General and was not reluctant to send copies to you. His February 12 and February 28 reports are attached at Tab B.

Cliff Miller

Governor Rockefeller contacted his pollster Lloyd Free and urged him to begin working for the President's reelection. Free called Miller and they will meet next week to discuss the President's position in the polls. Free believes that the President is personally doing well but only has a 50-50 chance of winning after a hard campaign.

Don Rumsfeld

He forwarded an anonymous analysis of the President's standing with labor organizations suggesting we take a hard line with unions tax exempt status. The argument is not made well enough to justify sending it to Colson or Shultz.

Tom Evans

1. The primary effort of the RNC this winter has been to target register Republicans. Nationwide, 85,000 new Republican registrations have resulted from the drives that concentrated in Florida, Texas, California, Ohio, and Tennessee. Fred LaRue believes Ed DeBolt has done a fairly good job on this project. LaRue will push DeBolt to continue to deliver registrations through this spring.

2. LaRue and Dent report that Anne Armstrong is an increasingly effective spokeswoman.

000480

Harry Flemming

1. Discussion with Flemming indicates that he is mostly concerned about what Bob Maridan's role in the campaign will be.

2. Contrary to Jeb Magruder's assessment, Flemming believes Allen Walker is doing a pretty good job in New Hampshire as the Executive Director under Lane Dwinell.

Jeb Magruder's Projects

1. New Hampshire and Florida. Bob Marik prepared a summary of campaign efforts in New Hampshire and Florida. The summary covers spokesmen, direct mail, telephone, get-out-the-vote, advertising and youth (attached at Tab C).

2. Wisconsin. With each primary state Magruder's staff prepares a detailed operating plan. This is used as a talking paper for a Saturday meeting of those involved nationally and those involved locally. The result of these meetings is a final written recommendation to the AG requesting budget decisions. The Wisconsin Operating Plan is attached at Tab D.

3. Meetings. Criticism by Chapin and Malek resulted in Magruder recasting the meeting and clearance systems for campaign suggestions. Magruder uses these groups to prepare recommendations to the AG. Since you and the AG discussed the Strategy Group and the Political Issues Group on November 4, you may want to review Magruder's summary of these groups and their areas of responsibility which is attached at Tab E.

4. Campaign Titles. Only the AG will have a title at the campaign. He will be Campaign Director. Secretary Stans has not made a decision on titles for his finance division.

5. Audio-Video. Colson and Magruder convinced the AG to terminate the RNC-David Green contract providing for videotape and audio feeds of Senators and Congressmen to TV and radio stations around the country. The system was the unfortunate result of a Lyn Nofziger agreement while at the RNC. Gordon Liddy, as Counsel at the Committee is negotiating termination of the contract. Instead the campaign will establish its own audio service under Scott Peters, the 27,000 per year head of the UPI audio Service. He will work with Des Barker on Colson's staff to get the best statements from within the Executive Branch.

000481

6. The volume of written material generated at 1701 is increasing. On your behalf, I receive a copy of everything that is sent to the AG. According to Magruder he reads very little of the material. After reviewing the materials I forward to you a small percentage. The memoranda that I have not forwarded to you during the last ten days cover: (1) mailing to Independents in New Hampshire; (2) Mailing Samples; (3) Get-Out-The Vote Telegrams; (4) New Hampshire Technical Institute Mock Election Results; (5) Florida Rally; (6) Lawyers Committee for the Reelection of the President; (7) Senator Case's Press Clippings; (8) Frank Dale's Letter to Muskie; (9) Clayton Yeutter's Analysis of Wheat Prices; (10) the California Delegation list; and (11) Report on Manchester Union Leader coverage of the President's telephone campaign. The weekly report for the AG, which is prepared by Rob Odle for Jeb Magruder is attached at Tab F.

What is beyond to California? ?

000482

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 337-0123

February 29, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Regular Meetings Within the Campaign Organization

This memorandum describes the meetings which are conducted on a regular basis to help coordinate the activities relating to the campaign.

Strategy Group (Attendees listed in Tab A) - Meets on alternate Monday evenings. This group is intended to provide political perspective to questions of general strategy. It does not concern itself with the operating details of specific programs or activities. Some representative agenda items have been:

- Review of general results of opinion polls
- Format and title of the campaign newspaper
- Review of proposed advertising themes and the completed commercials
- Recommendations on the timing of the President's announcement of his candidacy for a second term

Strategy Planning Group (Attendees listed in Tab B) - Meets on Saturdays, as required, to develop specific plans for campaigns within states and to develop specific recommendations in other problem areas which might require the combined efforts of several functional areas. This group has held two meetings which have included representatives of the Re-election Committees of Wisconsin and California.

Re-election Committee Staff Meeting (Attendees listed in Tab C) - Meets at 7:30 a.m. every Tuesday. One purpose of these meetings is to exchange information on the activities of various divisions within the committee as they relate to the overall campaign. In addition, in recent meetings, Chuck Colson and Ed Harper of the White House staff have

000539



CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

described their functions as they might relate to the campaign. The meetings also provide an opportunity for setting out policy guidelines which should be known to each of the operating managers.

Joint Staff Meeting (Attendees listed in Tab D) - Meets every Tuesday at 11 a.m., and is composed of senior staff members from 1701 and the RNC. The purpose of the group is to discuss matters relating to the campaign, particularly those which bear on RNC-Committee cooperation.

Political Issues Group (Attendees listed in Tab E) - Meets every other Wednesday in Harry Dent's office. The purpose of the group is to provide a forum, predominantly composed of high level White House staff members, for the discussion of important issues relating to the campaign.

In addition to the meetings listed above, Cliff Miller or Van Shurway regularly attend Chuck Colson's 2:30 p.m. planning meetings on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at the White House.

As you know, we also strongly recommend that you attend the 8:15 a.m. daily meetings in Mr. Haldeman's office.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

000540

CONFIDENTIAL

STRATEGY GROUP ATTENDEES

Harry Dent

Len Garment

Bob Marik

Dick Moore

Jeb Magruder

Cliff Miller

Bob Teeter (or Ted Garrish)

Peter Dailey (or Phil Joanou)

Pat Buchanan

Fred LaRue

Bob Finch

000541

STRATEGY PLANNING GROUP ATTENDEES

Ken Reitz

Peter Dailey (or Phil Joanou)

Bob Marik

Jeb Magruder

Harry Flemming (or Al Kaupinen)

Bob Teeter (or Ted Garrish)

Bart Porter

Fred LaRue

Fred Malek

Pat Hutar

Cliff Miller (or Van Shumway)

Gordon Strachan

Bob Morgan (as needed)

Nancy Brataas (as needed)

Citizens Group Directors (as needed)

000542

RE-ELECTION COMMITTEE STAFF MEETING ATTENDEES

Alex Armendaris

Murray Chotiner

Peter Dailey

Harry Flemming

Larry Goldberg

Pat Hutar

Paul Jones

Allan Kaupinen

Paul Kayser

Fred La Rue

Gordon Liddy

Frederic Malek

Bob Marik

Edward Nixon

Herbert Porter

Bob Reisner

Ken Reitz

Van Shumway

Hugh Sloan

Bob Teeter

Dan Todd

Clayton Yeutter

Rob Odle

000543

JOINT STAFF MEETING ATTENDEES

Harry Dent

Tom Evans

Ed DeBolt

Jeb Magruder

Fred LaRue

Harry Flemming

Hugh Sloan

Lee Nunn

000544

Rita Hauser

POLITICAL ISSUES GROUP ATTENDEES

Anne Armstrong

Robert J. Brown

Ken Cole

Charles Colson

Bob Dole

Thomas Evans

Robert Finch

Leonary Garment

Roy Goodearle

Bryce Harlow

Ed Harper

Rita Hauser

Herbert Klein

John Lehman

Clark MacGregor

Ray Price

Donald Rumsfield

William Safire

Gordon Strachan

Robert Teeter

William Timmons

Rose Mary Woods

000545

MAY 16, 1972

Copy 1 of 3

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 16, 1972

*G*  
*Excellent Summary*

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *G* *AT*

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

Finances

1) Mitchell and Stans are developing the campaign budget. Each 1701 "division" (advertising, political, administration, etc.) submitted projected budgets. These totaled 44,000. The Budget Committee (Mitchell, Stans, Magruder, Malek, Nunn, Sloan, LaRue, and Odle) cut the budget to 31,700, excluding state committees' budgets. The state committees' budgets are being submitted to Flemming, who hopes to have semi-final figures by May 19. The total state budgets should be 4-5,000. To summarize:

Advertising	-	12,150	(1,500 under limit)
White House Support	-	1,380	(President and First Family Travel and Colson Budget)
Convention	-	475	
Political	-	211	
PR/Media	-	740	
Polling	-	750	
Direct Mail	-	4,500	
Telephones	-	1,900	
Voter Blocs	-	2,354	(Youth and Women receive twice what other Malek groups receive)
Spokesmen Resources	-	725	

*what about old folks -*

*They're worth 10X  
what "Youth" is worth*

*G → JRM: 5/18 will check old folders G → FM*

000567

2) Fundraising letters are now cleared technically by Bob Morgan, the Campaign's direct mail organizer who is considered one of 1701's most capable employees. The final approval for text, mailing lists, and timing is Stans. Every contribution received is acknowledged. As the amount increases, the personalized aspect of Stans' response does also.

3). Prepayments before April 7 will preclude ORC appearing as a polling vendor of 1701 until at least September 10 and hopefully after November 7.

4) Lee Nunn called on May 11 to say that the Florida Finance Chairman, George Champion, Jr., is having trouble raising money in Florida because they claim to "be giving through Bebe". In addition to campaign spending law problems of such gifts, the risk of unfavorable newspaper stories is also high.

### Recommendation

Rather than you calling and urging Bebe to funnel everything through George Champion, Jr., Stans should call and mention he had covered the matter with you.

Agree

Disagree

Be sure he explains  
the Law to them.

## Comments

5) Kalmbach has completely severed any fundraising relationship with 1701, including resignation from the Budget Committee. When he returns from Europe on June 12, he will be available for any "assignments". He met with Mitchell, Ehrlichman, and Dean before departure but received no assignments.

Harry Dent

1) The Political Issues Group met to discuss women's issues on April 25, with Rita Hauser as the speaker. The

000568



attendance was poor (Rose Mary Woods was invited but did not attend).

2) Wallace Henley, on Dent's staff, maintains low level contacts with the George Wallace campaign. His three most recent analyses (prepared before the assassination attempt) suggest that Wallace may be seeking to establish his pure "Democrat" credentials so he could become Alabama's Senator in 1974. The American Independent Party is trying to schedule their National Convention in either Louisville or Dallas on August 4-6, 1972.

3) State by state analyses for Harry Dent are prepared by Brad Hainsworth. Mitchell, Magruder, you, and Parker receive copies. The analyses cover local races, issues, and party organization. They are better summaries than either Chotiner's (RNC) or 1701 (White House Staff wives). An up-to-date file is maintained in my office.

Lyn Nofziger

The periodic reports for Governor Reagan continue to emphasize the progress on telephone banks, direct mail, and successful recruiting of volunteers. The area Chairmen, Banowsky, Packard, and Monagan have established the basic campaign organization under Nofziger. The problem areas in Nofziger's mind are voter registration, Finch, and finances. The Republican Party organization neither cooperates with Nofziger nor produces results for the Party. Nofziger has repeatedly advised Reagan and Mitchell, but according to Magruder no solutions are being implemented.

The financial problems are blamed on Stans, who is requiring firm county budgets and Mitchell who is not authorizing enough money for the biggest, most important state, according to Nofziger.

000560

MAY 16, 1972

- 4 -

Cliff Miller

1) Magruder directed Miller to act as the Chairman of the Campaign Strategy Group, a role Miller thoroughly enjoys.

2) Ed Nixon has asked Miller for periodic p.r.-press advice, which Ed Nixon will need as his speaking and public appearance role continues to increase.

3) Ted Cummings, Taft Schreiber, et al, will finance newspaper ads requested by Colson and Magruder.

Murray Chotiner

As the man responsible to John Mitchell for ballot security, Chotiner has a former CIA agent (H.L.T. Koren) as his full-time deputy. There are five field men (all former FBI) who will concentrate on Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and Texas. In addition, Chotiner will have 27 state chairmen for Voters' Rights.

Chotiner attends the Campaign Strategy Group meetings regularly.

Charlie McWhorter

Although he is still upset by the Dole attacks on AT&T, McWhorter still talks with me weekly. His most recent report covers the Republican Governor's Conference and RNC meetings in early May. The Governors were in "a very positive mood with regard to the Administration". They voted to work for the re-election of Agnew, not to pressure the President to accept Agnew as his running mate but rather as "an expression of confidence in Agnew if he is chosen".

The RNC had an underlying "I told you so" attitude about the shift from San Diego to Miami Beach.

000570

MAY 16, 1972

- 5 -

John Dean

Although continuing to advise Secretary Stans and Gordon Liddy on Federal reporting requirements, Dean is not actively involved in legal work for the campaign. His only recent project directly for Mitchell concerned the legal complications of the shift from San Diego to Miami Beach.

Before reviewing the specific 1701 projects and personalities, it might be useful to focus on the overall organizational set-up:

---

John Mitchell

---

<u>Finance</u>	<u>Political</u>	<u>Voter Blocs</u>	<u>Everything Else</u>
(Stans)	(Mosiman, Mardian, LaRue, Flemming, Kaupinen, Yeutter)	(Malek)	(Magruder)  Advertising - Dailey Convention - Timmons PR/Media - Miller/Shumway Polling - Teeter Research/Planning - Marik Spokesmen Resources - Porter Administration - Odle

The four principals have direct access to Mitchell. They supervise a total of 100 professionals with monthly operating costs, including salary, rent, etc., in the amount of 100.

Malek and Magruder meet with Mitchell daily at 9 a.m. Malek usually discusses questions rather than working from memoranda as Magruder does.

009571

1) The Finance group works independently of the other three divisions. Information regarding receipts, contributors and projects is held within Stans' group of Hugh Sloan, Lee Nunn, and Ken Talmadge.

2) The six members of the Political group report directly to Mitchell, but Bob Mardian and Fred LaRue have general, informal authority over Flemming, Mosiman, Yeutter, and Kaupinen. The states are divided geographically and politically among the six. Mardian has direct responsibility for the Western states and Missouri. Yeutter has the Midwest including South Dakota, North Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota and Oklahoma. Don Mosiman has Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Maryland, Delaware and Michigan. Al Kaupinen has the Northeast including Connecticut. Flemming has direct responsibility for the South and Southeast.

Mitchell considers himself personally responsible for California, Texas, Illinois, New York, New Jersey and Ohio. Day-to-day operations in these crucial states are handled by Mardian for California, Flemming for New York, LaRue for Texas, Kaupinen for Illinois, Mosiman for Ohio and New Jersey.

3) The Voter Blocs, including Women, are controlled by Malek. He will submit a report to you after the Russia trip summarizing all his activities at 1701.

4) Jeb Magruder's Projects

a) The surrogate's situation remains confused. Mitchell and Magruder have talked to Whitaker, who continues to waffle, due to his near adamant refusal to be involved in scheduling again in 1972. The latest possibility is that Whitaker will serve in some "advisory" capacity.

John Mitchell chaired a meeting on May 16 of the 32 key surrogates. Only Reagan and Rockefeller did not appear at the briefing in person. In addition to Mitchell, Magruder, Malek, Teeter, Stans, Dailey and Shumway addressed the group. Magruder thought the meeting excellent; Malek says it was poorly advanced in that the room was too small, principals and aides were not separated, and little actionable information was supplied.

Jon Foust has acquired control of the tour office aspect of the Spokesman Resources Division. He is urging Mitchell, through Magruder, to give him more authority to create schedule events rather than just record and expand on established events.

000572

b) Bill Timmons is in Miami Beach surveying the facilities for the convention. You reviewed the list of technical staff who accompanied him. Timmons will have an updated report-decision memorandum for your review upon returning from Russia.

c) Peter Dailey has assembled the campaign advertising staff (November Group) in New York and Washington. The staff prepared three presentations for the Campaign Strategy Group (Chapin, Buchanan, Garment, Magruder, Dent, Chotiner, LaRue, Moore, Teeter, and Miller). Dailey had planned on asking to see you to review the materials before the Russia trip. However, he now prefers to wait until you return so that the materials and theme will be in near final form. At the first political meeting in Ehrlichman's office after Russia, you could review the campaign advertising materials. Dailey says an abbreviated presentation with his two top men (Phil Joanou and Bill Taylor) would take 45 minutes.

Dailey and Chapin have been working on the Documentary Films with Wolper. There will be two 1/2 hour films, one fifteen minute condensation of each of the films, and a 10 minute film on Mrs. Nixon. The total budget is 600.

d) Bob Marik is developing detailed campaign plans for each state. These are similar to the plans on New Hampshire and Florida you reviewed prior to those primaries.

The plan for the California primary specified a budget of 500 through June, including 66 for a telephone campaign, and 340 for direct mail. The balance is salary and organizational expense. There will be no media advertising for the President in California.

Plans for the definitely safe and loss states will be complete by June 3. The target state plans are due to Mitchell on July 22. There is some pressure to accelerate these dates but firm commitments have not yet been made.

A talking paper for your Political Meeting in Ehrlichman's office tomorrow is attached.

Is there any follow up necessary from the first three meetings?

*Nope - Nothing happens -  
just talk.*

000572



JUNE 6, 1972

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

154  
G

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

June 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN G

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

Finances

1) Mitchell and Stans have continued to work on the campaign budget. No final decision has been reached but the figures you reviewed on May 16 serve as the current operating budget. The total national budget is 31,700. Timmons' Convention budget is the only national expense not included. He hopes to submit figures to Mitchell when he returns from Miami Beach today.

To the 31,700 budget, the state budgets will add 8,500-9,000. Twenty-four of the fifty budgets have been approved.

2) Stans has released to the press the names of State Finance Chairmen as they are selected. Darius Keaton of Pebble Beach, California will direct fundraising activities in a seven-state western area including California. Keaton heads Charter Company.

3) Pursuant to your decision on January 18, 1972, Lee Nunn supervised a test mailing of a Price-approved letter to a random 5,300 names of the White House Support List (the 300,000 who have written supporting the President). The response was \$.37 per letter mailed and was considered "a very successful mailing". The average contribution was \$19.15, yielding a total of \$1,973.

Secretary Stans and Lee Nunn now request use of the full list after the Democratic National Committee Convention. The copy of the letter will be submitted to you for approval after Stans clears the letter. To be

000575

JUNE 6, 1972

- 2 -

prepared for the July mailing, Nunn seeks permission to key punch the names. The resulting magnetic tape will continue to be under your complete control.

Recommendation

That you authorize Lee Nunn to have the White House Support List key punched for a mailing after the Democratic National Committee Convention subject to your approval of the text of the letter.

G7 Dean  
G7 Stans  
G7 6/22

Approval ck Dean Disapproval ck Dean Comments ck Dean

4) Herb Kalmbach returns from Europe June 18.

5) The first financial reports to the Comptroller General to comply with the campaign spending legislation will be released June 10. Stans will not have a press conference, but Shumway will be prepared to answer some questions.

John Dean has approved the only report requiring the President's signature. Dean has advised Stans and Mitchell about the general campaign reports, but Dean has not personally approved them.

Harry Dent

1) Although Dent regularly attends any political meeting to which he is invited, discussion with him on May 31 indicates he feels "left out". Few attend his Political Issues Group meetings. Dent is not particularly discouraged because he enjoys the preparation of primary result memoranda for the President and the resulting periodic political telephone conversations with the President. Nevertheless, Dent has begun "sniping" at decisions because he feels he is not participating. A possible solution is for you to discuss Dent's role with Mitchell. (Subject appears at Paragraph 13 in the Talking Paper attached at Tab A).

2) Substantive Dent comments on the political situation are:

000576



JUNE 6, 1972

- 3 -

5-79 5/24 6/11  
Dent  
a) The suggested advertising slogan (President Nixon -- Now More Than Ever) is too sophisticated for the average man; *that should be tested - could be right*

b) If McGovern becomes the Democratic nominee, the Wallace people will support the President;

3-90 Dent 6/9  
Nofziger  
c) John Rollins is anxiously awaiting some special assignment. Dent has asked Mitchell to approve a special fundraising effort for Governors and Senators we are interested in supporting, *idea. I am really interested + want to be informed*

d) Dent's requests for candidate picture taking sessions with the President have been sent to Parker; and *if any are taken*

e) The state by state political reports prepared by Hainsworth for Dent have now been completed for 38 states.

Lyn Nofziger

1) The two recent weekly reports to Governor Reagan continue to emphasize Nofziger's problems with Put Livermore and finances and organization. Mitchell sent Bob Morgan to California to work out the Put Livermore/Compass Systems, Inc., problem which curtailed some direct mail efforts during the primary. Morgan succeeded and two million pieces were mailed which generated 30,000 volunteers. Other volunteers were used at ten telephone call centers which completed 275,000 calls to Republicans.

2) The California registration drives are beginning to produce results.

Committee to Re-Elect the President Projects:

1) Fred Malek submitted his first description of his campaign activities (attached at Tab B). It emphasizes the weaknesses at 1701 rather than the strengths. To solve the weakness in the business area, Malek will use Cliff White as a consultant.

909577

JUNE 6, 1972

- 4 -

*Give the opportunity  
this is a fine  
should have said  
4% as much as  
you're*

You questioned the size of Malek's Older American budget on May 17. The budget is the same in Tab B of Malek's report but he says that amount is all that can be effectively spent for staff and travel. Older Americans are receiving a very substantial allocation of resources from the other campaign divisions. In addition, many states will have full time directors reporting to Malek. He is convinced that he has met your objection to lack of emphasis on Older Americans. *Jim not*

*G-3 malek  
6/9*

Malek made several other points in a long discussion on June 1:

*G-3 malek  
6/9*

1) Colson's projects managers, with the exception of Bill Rhatican, are "terrible in the p.r. area". Malek is working directly with Colson to solve this. *Bill is a report*

2) The political coordinators are "months behind the rest of the campaign

*G-3 JSM  
6/9*

Malek says Mitchell is keeping him in line. believes there is a conspiracy (composed of Magruder and LaRue -- derogatorily referred to as "Magrue") out to get him. The conspiracy exists but hasn't succeeded in ousting

*Give Malek help -  
This is a good case if Magruder*

3) Although the Domestic Council claims to have only spent 20 minutes on politics during their retreat to Camp David, Malek is convinced they are doing much more politically. If so, Ken Cole pleads ignorance. You may want to discuss the Domestic Council activities with Mitchell. *I would hope they are*

4) Jeb Magruder, but not Fred Malek, appears in the June 5 press release about the campaign organization. Mitchell changed his mind about not using titles for the campaign staff. *good*

*G-3 JSM  
6/9*

2) Jeb Magruder has still not been able to locate the attack man for the Democratic Convention. Several candidates have refused the offer and Magruder may have to rely on Gordon Liddy, , and a spokesman as the time is so short.

*Not adequate - must get  
a good crew in this*

009572

JUNE 29, 1972

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Tab A and F were not attached to original when it came back from outbox.

G. --

I wasn't able to make copies for the original or for your copy of the two missing tabs. FYI-- I made two Xerox copies of this with H's writing.

000687

JUNE 29, 1972

Copy 1 of 2

G

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

June 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

POLITICAL MATTERS

Finances

1) Herb Kalmbach has returned from Europe, has avoided a new 3,000 commitment to Stans, and has complained again about Flanigan's treatment of contributors. Jack Mulcahy and John Moore have been trying to meet with Flanigan for six weeks concerning Pan Am in Ireland. According to Kalmbach, Mulcahy is now angry at Flanigan's pompous attitude toward him and the Irish vote. *Have Kalmbach talk to Flanigan*

Leonard Firestone is fairly happy as Finance Chairman in California, but wants to be Ambassador to the United Kingdom, a post also sought by Clem Stone;

2) Stans, with Mitchell's approval, has issued strict guidelines to the State Chairmen regarding fundraising, purchasing materials (campaign supplies), and advertising expenditure control;

3) In spite of Stans' pressure, Mitchell decided against 1701 intervention in John Gardner's Common Cause suit against TRW, Inc., for maintaining a political fund;

4) All of the Vice President, Rockefeller, and Reagan's fundraising events scheduled from 1701 are cleared with Mitchell and Stans personally;

5) Settlement of financial claims resulting from the Convention shift from San Diego to Miami Beach is proceeding slowly per Stans' request. To date the RNC has paid nothing, and the final settlement should be surprisingly modest;

6) A new contract with Compass Systems, Inc., providing for an additional \$6,000, bringing the total commitment to \$135,000, was executed in mid-June. A 1701 employee has been put in control. Demographic information has been used for telephone center location and direct mail targets.

000688

JUNE 29, 1972

John Sears

*G-7 Sears 7/7  
Sears (and anyone else) to  
memoranda will not be  
addressed to the P. who  
wrote they will go to  
Burlington I thought  
Get this word  
out - right  
away*

John Sears submitted an eight page analysis of the Democratic Situation with suggestions for a Strategy Against McGovern (attached at Tab A). Sears argues that McGovern should not be attacked as ultra-liberal because the President is after Democratic voters who still consider "liberal" good. Instead, by emphasizing the issues, the differences between the "ends" of the President and McGovern will isolate McGovern. The issues differences would be highlighted by a "question-a-day". McGovern will choose a Vice Presidential candidate from the Senators of California, Illinois, Ohio or New Jersey and then concentrate his campaign in the large states.

John Dean

You read John Dean's June 20 report on Potential Disruptions at the RNC Convention. Dean's report summarized the Intelligence Evaluation Committee report. Both reports have detailed descriptions of the various demonstrations and their leaders. Although Dean's report is bullish ("General agreement has been reached by most interested groups that protest activity should be focused on the Republican Convention, but the mood is very pessimistic as to the probable success"), recent surveys by Mike Duval and Bill Henkel indicate the demonstrators may easily accomplish their goals in Miami Beach.

Duval and Henkel report that:

*G-7 Dean 7/7*

1) The entire San Diego demonstrator leadership is in Miami Beach. They have purchased office space, walkie-talkies, telephones, and the special crystals necessary to monitor Sierra. (Source: USSS Paul Rundell and Paul Burns, who did Miami in 1968.) *See if we can change frequency at last minute*

2) The fence around the Convention Center is designed to accommodate demonstrators in indentations, but will not withstand 5,000+ demonstrators. When the fence collapses, the 25 police will retreat to the Convention Hall which can be held for 15 minutes. The principals under USSS protection will be removed via helicopter from the helipad which, under present plans, will be shielded by an electric fence. Federal troops will arrive via helicopter to restore order. (Source: Rundell, local police.)

*G-7 Dean 7/7*

*Don't worry about this bc we see  
what happens at Dem convention.  
Be sure we get full + accurate reports.*

000689-109

JUNE 29, 1972

- 3 -

3) The hardened underground command post will use network feeds to monitor demonstrator activities because the "national networks will have better coverage of the demonstrators than any closed circuit system" that could be established. (Source: USSS Paul Burns.)

Even if the USSS and local police are exaggerating, there is basic, unsound demonstrator control planning for Miami Beach. Dean is to perform only an information role with Kleindienst having the primary responsibility. The Talking Paper for John Mitchell at Tab B covers this subject.

Lyn Nofziger

He has not submitted a weekly report to Reagan since May 29. During a discussion with him on June 29, he mentioned the following:

1) As confused as I am, California is much better organized than any other major state (Malek confirms this);

2) Stans has limited Nofziger to \$2M exclusive of advertising, direct mail, and telephones. Nofziger wants Reagan to appeal to Mitchell;

3) He regrets his four region organization set-up. Dave Packard, in charge of the Bay Area, cuts his own deals with Stans, and so is beyond Nofziger's control. Bill Banowski, the President of Pepperdine and in charge of Los Angeles, is too personally ambitious for Nofziger. McCandless, the Chairman of the Board of Supervisors of Riverside County is good, as is Tracy Assemblyman Monagan, according to Nofziger;

4) Finch and Firestone bother Nofziger because they are always "bitching re appearances and money".

5) Nofziger believes it's a mistake for Reagan to spend three weeks in Europe; he should be doing fundraising events and speaking in Middle America;

6) While the President is in California, he should remain low key with the appearance of a working vacation. Cabinet Officers should be summoned and then do radio and TV in California;

000690

JUNE 29, 1972

- 4 -

7) Nofziger was not invited to Taft Schreiber's celebrities event because of long-standing personal animosity.

Charlie McWhorter

He attended the National Governors' Conference in Houston. The Governors believe the "President has developed a strong record of leadership and will be difficult for any Democrat to defeat". Governor Lucey of Wisconsin told McWhorter that McGovern's organization was quite flexible as indicated by the quick decision to attend the Governors' Conference. However, several Governors reported that the McGovern organization will have a shake-up after the Democratic Convention to include more of the standard Democratic leaders.

McWhorter suggests encouraging Jim Kolstad, who is considered a fairly good political man, for the Vice President.

Committee for the Re-Election of the President

Jeb Magruder's Projects:

1) Time will do a cover story on Celebrities in the near future. Magruder has been trying to get Time to assure equal treatment for Clint Eastwood, John Wayne and Chad Everett. McGovern's featured three will probably be Shirley MacLaine, Julie Christie, and Warren Beatty.

2) Al Gatalucci (Rizzo's former campaign manager) will be Executive Director of Democrats for the President if Rizzo approves. Gatalucci will check Rizzo. *Cover this with Colson*

3) The Direct Mail effort will be re-structured with Sam Wiley centralizing the software. The reformation will raise the campaign expense for direct mail from 4,500 to 5,500. In the eleven key states all Republicans will receive three mailings while Independents will receive two mailings.

4) According to Magruder there will be no counter activities against the Democratic fundraising telethon. The reason is that the money goes to 1968 debtors instead of the 1972 campaign. Also, 1701 is reluctant to get caught.

000691

5) With Mitchell's approval, Magruder leaked the campaign slogan -- "President Nixon - Now More Than Ever" -- to Kevin last week as a trial balloon. told Dent he was not impressed with the slogan.

6) Additional office space for 1701 staff and a national storefront ground floor campaign headquarters has been rented at 1730 Pennsylvania Avenue.

7) The original Frank Dale committee will be expanded by 50-100 geographically dispersed leaders, including Billy Graham, Floyd McKissick, and Lee Trevino. The expansion will occur after the Democratic Convention when the Democrats for the President will be assembled.

8) Magruder convinced Dave Maxie to do a First Family story in Life in addition to the campaign story, as you requested on June 22.

9) The Wave II Campaign Polling trial heat results should be available on July 6, when Teeter is scheduled to meet Mitchell. Teeter may have the results on July 5. Receiving materials for the results by telephone will be in California should the results be available early. Otherwise the results will be daxed to you on July 6. In addition to the trial heat results, Teeter will have the first monthly report on the urban ethnics and upper-income white suburbanites that he has been developing with Art Finkelstein. Teeter submitted a memorandum to Mitchell on the Spanish-American voter bloc. Your copy is attached at Tab C.

10) The State Chairmen or Executive Directors will be brought to Washington beginning July 6 for planning and development of the State Victory Plans. Hopefully, Malek will have reviewed the Field Organization materials with Mitchell before this series of meetings begin.

11) Mitchell sent a revised version of the Rick Fore analysis of the McGovern campaign to the Nixon state, county, and precinct workers with a tough cover memorandum.

12) Cliff Miller is Chairman of the Campaign Strategy Group. On June 27 the group reviewed the McGovern biography and spots that you saw on June 29. The analysis by the group is at Tab D.

000692



13) Mitchell did not attend the weekly political meeting, but Mardian, Magruder, Marik, Miller, and LaRue held the meeting to discuss the Democratic Convention scheduling of activities around that Convention. Ed Failor, who has been hired to handle all negative aspects of the campaign against McGovern, has the responsibility for implementing 1701 activities during the Democratic Convention. His memorandum for Mitchell is at Tab E. The basic system is a truth squad and Democratic monitoring system run by Mitchell, Magruder and Failor from Washington.

The political group reviewed the theory of such an operation in light of the Watergate Caper but decided to go ahead. Buchanan and Khachigian, who were not at the meeting, have submitted a dissenting view (attached at Tab F).

1701 also has prepared a surrogate speaking schedule through July 14, to be used to distribute the lines developed by Mitchell, Magruder and Failor around the country.

A copy of Robert Strauss' letter of invitation to the '72 Sponsors Club and the summarized schedule is attached at Tab G.

#### Fred Malek's Projects

1) Fred Malek has submitted his 1701 Field Organization plan to you and Higby. He has not covered the subject with Mitchell. Dent today emphasized the importance of completely re-vamping. When Malek told him \_\_\_\_\_ was in charge of the Western States as well as the South, Dent said "Lord help," \_\_\_\_\_ is "a damn disaster".

2) A Black Vote Field Operation is being organized under Malek's top blacks, Ed Sexton and Paul Jones. The plan is similar to that advocated by Dent and Jones -- money and organization.

3) Through hard, last minute work, Malek built the Bob Brown/Paul Jones' Blacks for President Nixon' dinner into a very successful event.

000693

4) Malek submitted a memorandum to you on June 15 describing his revision of the Older American's Program. He is now convinced he has met the objectives you raised concerning his emphasis and budget for Older Americans. Dan Todd, Executive Director of the Older Voters for the President, receives praise from most who work with him.

5) Malek manages his voting bloc directors by constant pressure and short memoranda. Copies are not forwarded to you.

General Political Matters Pending

1) John Ehrlichman submitted two large binders summarizing the issues on June 2. As the Status Report indicates, Mr. Ehrlichman has not submitted the Action Plans for Key Issues that the President requested April 9. You might want to mention this to Mr. Ehrlichman.

2) On June 12, you noted on an Action Paper and Presidential memorandum that suggested a two-day strategy session "I'll handle". You may want to reconsider the establishment of a larger advisory group or planning session. The next meeting of Ehrlichman's political group is scheduled for July 20.

3) The Memoranda for the President's file for your meetings with the President and Mitchell on April 4 and April 12 remain overdue. Similarly, the memorandum for your meeting with the President and Bryce Harlow on January 19 is overdue.

000694

JULY 29, 1972

Copy 1 of 2

EYES ONLY

5-18-72 high priority  
P. 5-18-72  
9  
" "  
July 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

Finances

1) Kalmbach continues to work for Stans though he has not increased his commitment from 10,000 (9,200 "in the barn") to 13,000.

2) Kalmbach has contacted \_\_\_\_\_ and will arrange for a meeting with Connally. \_\_\_\_\_ connections will be checked by Ehrlichman before the Connally meeting.

3) Kalmbach advises against hitting \_\_\_\_\_ with his all promises, no delivery background before November 7. Instead, he suggests a mild freeze be placed on returning his phone calls and that Stans schedule one last meeting with \_\_\_\_\_.

4) In light of Hugh Sloan's departure, I have not established a new, totally responsive contact within the Finance Committee. Stans is reportedly (Magruder and Nunn) very nervous about anyone outside his immediate staff knowing anything. If we need anything within the Finance Committee, such as the list of top contributors Stans refused to give Colson, I can obtain it through Kalmbach, with only slight delays.

*Just let it slide*

Bill Timmons

Before the July 25 meeting in your office on the Convention Timmons submitted a memorandum on the possible rules disputes developing at the Convention. You reviewed the memorandum and briefly mentioned to Timmons that a larger group should work on this question and that you only wanted to be an observer. No decision was reached at the meeting as to who should follow-up. Timmons and MacGregor have Charlie

000664

JULY 29, 1972

- 2 -

McWhorter working on the project, but McWhorter wants to see you to discuss Timmons' narrow view of the reform. I told McWhorter you would not become involved and therefore would not see him. He accepted that explanation.

Recommendation:

That Timmons be designated as the man responsible for chairing the group to review the reforms.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove X Comments See T on this

Len Garment

1) He read the van der Linden book, Nixon's Quest for Peace, and suggested that pictures be added. The 5,000 first issue will not have pictures, but all additional issues will. Ollie Atkins knows van der Linden and is working with him. *has K's office on'd the book.*

2) He has stepped in to fill a void in Malek and Magruder's operation in developing a group of Intellectuals for the President. Garment is satisfied with his progress so far. Garment is working closely with the Rinfret economists group which will have its first meeting with MacGregor on July 31.

Murray Chotiner

Chotiner has requested and you have approved a meeting with him in the near future. One subject he will raise is the plan he and Harlow have developed to counter McGovern's attacks on the 10,000 collected by Stans before April 7. Nothing has been submitted in writing. Basically, the plan involves newspaper ads signed by the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, asking the contributors to disclose their names and amounts voluntarily. Even if the contributors don't disclose, Chotiner believes the pressure will be taken off the President.

Rose Mary Woods

She sent you a memorandum saying that \_\_\_\_\_ is concerned that McGovern will promise everyone something and therefore triumph as Hitler did in 1930. The information has been given to Fred Malek.

000665

JULY 29, 1972

- 3

Harry Dent

1) asked Dent to call George (Wallace) personally to ask him to testify before the Platform Committee. Dent checked Mitchell on July 27 and was told to wait until after the July 29 announcement by Wallace. Dent will re-raise the subject next week.

2) Dent received word from Dave Parker that the President would not be involved in any John Rollins/Tom Evans fund-raising project for Senators, Governors, or Congressmen up for election this Fall. Dent is not clear whether this is merely a schedule turndown or whether there is to be no such project with or without the President's involvement.

\_\_\_\_\_ No fundraising project with or without the President's involvement.

\_\_\_\_\_ Fundraising project but no Presidential involvement.

✓ Other.

3) The updated Dent analyses of California, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, and Texas all contain optimistic reports on the Republican Party organization and Eagleton's drag effect on the Democratic ticket.

#### Committee for the Re-Election of the President

#### Jeb Magruder's Projects

##### 1) Advertising

a. In addition to Peter Dailey's concern about the advertising to be done for the Democrats Committee, there is a developing budget argument. The original campaign budget allocated 12,200 for advertising, which Dailey accepted even though it was under the 14,000 campaign spending legislation limitation. At a meeting on July 22, which Dailey and Magruder did not attend, Malek and Stans increased the budget allocation for field operations by

000666

cutting the advertising to 6,200. Magruder and Malek are now re-working a budget for 1701 which will permit increases for field operations without curtailing advertising expenditures. Stans is expected to resist strongly the net increased budget;

b. The next presentation of advertising materials for your review will be "around" August 14. At that time Dailey and his November Group will have several "finished" newspaper, radio, and TV ads and commercials. In addition, they will present their "media plan" based on several possible budget decisions. I currently have a copy of their draft media plan which appears to have received substantial effort;

c. Dailey believes the McGovern decision on Eagleton will permit him to develop several positive ads emphasizing the President's careful, diligent background work on facts. The contrast would be McGovern who did not check his facts on welfare, defense, or Eagleton;

d. Magruder is experiencing some "staffing problems" with Dailey and the November Group. Magruder says this is attributable to Dailey's tendency to keep decisions and information close to him rather than advising his staff. Magruder and Dailey believe they can resolve the problems;

e. Chapin will have "rough versions" of the three documentaries for your review Tuesday, August 1. In addition to Chapin, Moore, and Carruthers, others present would be David Wolper, and Peter Dailey and Bill Taylor from the November Group. With the 15 and 30 minute versions and discussion, Chapin estimates that you may need 3 hours to complete this project. On Tuesday, the President is meeting with Irish Teachers at 3 p.m. and the Congressional Photograph Group at 5 p.m. The viewing would be in the Roosevelt Room.

Schedule Tuesday, August 1 at 2 p.m., in the Roosevelt Room.

Re-schedule.

Other.

2) Surrogates

John Whitaker has reviewed the July 24 Surrogate Attack Plan prepared by Bart Porter and Curt Herge at 1701. Whitaker has approved and as indicated in my memorandum to you of June 24, believes they have done a "thorough", excellent job. The basic dispute between 1701 (Porter/Herge) and Colson's office (Pat O'Donnell) remains unresolved though a modus vivendi has developed.

The most recent manifestation of conflict is over who controls the "political line" to be given to the surrogates. Colson has told Magruder there will be a planning meeting weekly but that decisions on the "line" will come from Colson. This problem may become exacerbated because with Whitaker on vacation until August 10, little arbitration will occur.

3) Direct Mail

a. 1701 has substantially revised the organizational arrangement for the direct mail program. At an increased cost of 1,000 the primary responsibility for computer software and data base has been shifted to University Computing Company (Sam Wyly).

b. The political strategy has also been changed in light of McGovern's nomination. Previous plans had been to mail only to Republicans, Democrats and Independents who support the President. Now a much broader based mailing to ethnic Democrats, who may be disenchanted with McGovern, will be conducted. Materials are being prepared now for a massive series of mailings in September. Samples will be submitted for your review.

c. Maury Stans has not used the 300,000 White House Support List for a fundraising letter. Magruder requests authority to send a direct mail appeal to them to volunteer to work for the President. Subject to the same conditions you imposed -- that is, your express approval of the text of the letter and absolute security over the source of the names -- I recommend that Magruder receive authority to recruit volunteers from the White House Support List;

Approve 11 Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

000660

d. Magruder has been informed there will be no direct mail letter over the President's signature during the campaign.

4) Youth

Ken Rietz, through MacGregor, has submitted the memorandum on Youth Registration, a copy of which is attached, in response to your July 25 memorandum. Rietz points out that the target locations for the Young Voters for the President registration effort produces 20% who support the President but are not registered. The young voters public relations effort will emphasize the President's support among the total youth vote as distinguished from McGovern's college student elite.

5) Legal

a. Glenn Sedam, as the Counsel for 1701, reports to MacGregor through Magruder. Sedam has established a Task Force of lawyers and accountants to monitor McGovern's compliance with the Federal Election Campaign Act. One team will monitor the national filings and another will check the state filings;

b. Sedam also works with Dean and Colson on the New York Times ad by the National Committee for the Impeachment of the President. You have received reports from Dean, but should know that most of the staff work is done by Sedam;

c. Sedam directs Fred Scribner, as Counsel to the RNC, in the handling of the Common Cause suit against TRW, Inc. for illegal contributions;

d. Sedam's study of the college student voter registration requirements indicates that students may legally vote in their campus communities in California, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Louisiana, Massachusetts, and Washington. The trend of the cases in other states is toward liberalized voting requirements for college students;

000669



- 7-22-72
- e. Monitoring Wallace's ballot position in the various states is Sedam's responsibility; *etc. on this*
  - f. *in state of this* Requests for information by various federal agencies, such as the CAB request for air transportation information, are handled by Sedam.

## 6) Strategy

Magruder continues to schedule MacGregor into the Campaign Strategy Meetings. The most recent, July 26, was attended by MacGregor, Magruder, Malek, Dailey, Teeter, Miller, and LaRue. Teeter gave his general Wave II briefing. The main subject of discussion was whether campaign resources should be re-allocated in light of the conclusion that McGovern must move into the Farm and Rocky Mountain states. This conclusion is based on the fact that the total of states leaning to McGovern (Massachusetts, Minnesota, Washington, Rhode Island, Hawaii, and D.C. -- 44 electoral votes) plus the uncertain states (New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, West Virginia, Maine, California, and New Jersey -- 161 electoral votes) total only 205. To this McGovern must try to add Missouri, Wisconsin, Oregon, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Alaska -- 39 electoral votes. He still needs 26 which he probably will try to take from Nevada, Indiana, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, and Kansas (this group totals 38). This analysis assumes the 147 electoral votes from the South and Border states is irrevocably solid for the President. Magruder argued that additional local advertising and direct mail should be employed. Malek disagreed because the voters in the Farm and Rocky Mountain states already share the President's values. Instead, resources should be allocated to develop the organizational strength to defeat McGovern. MacGregor left the meeting to take a call from the President and a second call from you. No decision was reached.

## 7) Clark MacGregor

a. Malek and Magruder are having problems obtaining decisions from MacGregor. The paper flow and management of his office is very poor. To correct the problem, Bob Reisner, Magruder's aide for the last year, and Gene Roberts, Magruder's secretary, will be moved in to MacGregor's office on July 31. Whatever the procedural details, Malek and Magruder are making many decisions that would normally go to a higher political authority;

000670

b. Herb Klein obtained an oral commitment from MacGregor to be the chief spokesman at the Convention. After considerable effort by Magruder, MacGregor sent a memorandum to Klein thanking him for his offer but noting that Ann Dore will be the spokesman. After receiving the memorandum, Klein went back to MacGregor saying he had approval from you to be the spokesman at the Convention.

\_\_\_ Yes, Haldeman told Klein to be spokesman.

\_\_\_ No, Haldeman said nothing to Klein about being spokesman.

✓ raise at Tues mtg Other.

Similarly, Magruder is working to keep Klein off the August 20 Sunday talk shows.

c. MacGregor's frequent press interviews have released substantial amounts of previously guarded information. However, the only conflict in decisions concerns the San Clemente Campaign Kick-Off. In MacGregor's interview reported in the Washington Post on July 21, MacGregor indicates there will be a campaign kick off in mid-September in Southern California. On Higby's instructions, Chapin told Magruder there will be no such event.

✓ \_\_\_ There is to be no campaign kick off in Southern California in September.

\_\_\_ There is a campaign kick off in September in Southern California.

\_\_\_ The project is still being considered and Chapin should submit an updated proposal.

✓ raise in Tues mtg Other.

re poll data also

#### Fred Malek's Projects

1). You have Malek's July 28 memorandum summarizing his progress strengthening the 1701 field organization. The excellent, detailed description of specific progress is typical of Malek. However, Magruder and LaRue have mentioned to me privately that Malek is moving too quickly and brusquely. Magruder mentioned the Cliff White problem. According to Magruder, Mitchell brought White in last winter to preclude any right wing organization around Ashbrook. Malek was considering using White in California while Mitchell wants to phase White out of any serious planning. LaRue's concern is that Malek is "moving too far too fast" without appropriate political checks.

*Jaguer*

000671

JULY 29, 1972

- 9 -

Obviously, Malek and Magruder have a variety of reasons for making these comments. Nevertheless, in the Ehrlichman political meetings and your discussions with Mitchell, you may want to seek an independent assessment of Malek's performance;

✓ 2) Although Malek would be the Number Two man in the Convention Command Post, he and Magruder have asked MacGregor to take John Mitchell's 1968 command post spot during the two critical Convention times -- Tuesday afternoon when committee reports are adopted and Tuesday evening when the roll of the States for the nomination of the President will occur. The rest of the time MacGregor will be on the Floor for interviews and Fred LaRue will be in control and will occupy Dick Kleindienst's 1968 spot, as Number Two in the Command Post;

3) Malek will travel to California on July 30. I have reviewed orally with him the points in your July 25 Political Action Memorandum in California. Malek will meet with Gordon Luce, Lyn Nofziger, and hopefully, the Governor personally.

*Tal Pap 7/31*  
*Malek is not going to do this - raise*  
4) Malek's survey of the RNC Delegates to the Convention will add credence to the concern that there is a low percentage of youth and minorities at the Convention. Final percentages are not yet available. MacGregor, Timmons, and Malek are trying to increase the percentages but the realistic expectation is that the failure to have "balanced" selection of delegates is the result of Harry Flemming's authority and unresponsiveness.

#### Domestic Council -- Platform.

✓ According to Ken Cole, the Platform drafting is proceeding under Ehrlichman's personal direction. Questions are being resolved by Ehrlichman directly with the President. On July 28, Ehrlichman cleared the list of those who are to testify at the Platform Hearings with the President.

✓ The Hearings begin August 13. Scali expects substantial TV coverage. Scali, Clawson, Rhodes, and Timmons comprise Ehrlichman's task force on the news presentation of the Hearings.

000672

JULY 29, 1972

- 10 -

I advised Ken Cole on July 24 that he, Ehrlichman, and Harper could be briefed by Bob Teeter on the issue information from the Wave II campaign polls. On July 26, Cole confirmed that the three had not been able to set a time for Teeter. On July 28, Tod Hulin said he would try to schedule Ehrlichman with Teeter some time this week. You may want to mention the availability of the polling information directly to Mr. Ehrlichman as he may want to consider the information as he completes the Platform drafting.

TOL  
By  
7/31

000673

AUGUST 11, 1972

Copy 1 of 2

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

August 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN *S*

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

Finances

1) Kalmbach met with John Connally and will help him raise 1,000, thereby raising Kalmbach's quota to 11,000. Tom Watson will help Kalmbach. ✓

2) Kalmbach hand delivered the Tom Jones, President of Northrop, letter to me on August 9. The request for the President to address the Los Angeles World Affairs Council has been sent to Parker. A response for your signature is attached at Tab A.

Recommendation:

That Kalmbach's request that Jones stay on the Times-Mirror Board of Trustees through November 7 not be changed by Haldeman.

Approve

*I do not want to express any opinion on the subject - positive or negative in any way. Stay out of it.*

3) Kalmbach reports that the "mysterious Mr. Finch" has asked to see him this weekend in California. Kalmbach expects the subject to be money but will decline any request for assistance. *Per*

000579

4) Magruder and Malek submitted to Clark MacGregor the budget decision memorandum attached at Tab B. No decision had been reached by MacGregor by August 11. A full budget committee meeting will probably be held next week. You may want to review the entire memorandum and discuss it with the Ehrlichman Political Group. The basic dispute concerns a cut in the advertising budget to increase the field operation and still stay within the Stans imposed 40,000 overall limit on the campaign. In addition to field expenses, Magruder and Malek cite several campaign areas where costs have exceeded budget projections. The most substantial items are direct mail (1,000); surrogate advance office (500); and voter bloc advertising (200). Magruder and Malek have included a 90 increase attributable to you (polling/ORC-40 and Chapin/Walker "Presidential appearance fund" - 50) to bolster their argument to MacGregor.

Advertising gets cut the most. The campaign spending legislation permits 14,000 in media expenditures, the original budget provided for 12,100, and if the campaign budget stays at 40,000, the advertising budget would be 6,200.

On a related budget matter, MacGregor has agreed to permit modest (300) joint advertising by local committees so that local Republican candidates can use the President's name in their advertisements. This authorization is required by the campaign spending legislation.

#### Len Garment

You have a copy of the Len Garment/Paul Weaver proposal to recruit 25-30 top Democratic intellectuals with national reputations. These intellectuals would run ads in The New York Times and Washington Post to explain their disagreements with McGovern. The cost would be 25,000 and the decision is pending with MacGregor. 1701 also has a Citizens organization that focuses on the second level types, i.e. teachers and professors without national reputations.

000580

Harry Dent

*7074* 1) The John Rollins/Tom Evans fundraising project for Senators, Governors, and Congressmen has been dropped.

✓ 2) The updated Dent analyses of Kansas and Iowa indicate the President retains his strength and should carry both states in the election. Dent's analysis of Missouri indicates the President should carry the state by an appreciable margin in light of the Eagleton affair. In Hawaii, the President is getting stronger though Dent does not yet predict a victory (copies of the analyses are attached at Tab C).

Tom Benham

✓ ORC prepares an electoral vote projection system on their computer each election. The system Benham will establish (at no cost) for 1972 is described in the memorandum attached at Tab D. Basically, the system relies on all available polling data (which I help him obtain), past voting behavior, and Benham's "judgment".

Bob Ellsworth

*see 7/7 notes* You talked with Taft Schreiber about the importance of having a full-time organizational and fundraising man in the Wall Street area. You asked me to check who was working with Bob Ellsworth from 1701. Magruder had met with Ellsworth and obtained the memorandum attached at Tab E. A check with Magruder on August 10 indicated that Ellsworth is not being as active politically as Colson had been led to believe. Second, there is no fundraising occurring. Ellsworth never planned on doing it, and Stans has specifically directed that no one besides the two he has assigned to New York are to raise money. You will recall that Schreiber characterized Stans' two as very lazy and incapable of raising 1,000 out of a 10,000 potential. If Schreiber's suggestion of using Gus Levy to raise funds in New York is to be implemented, you will probably have to discuss the subject with Stans personally. A talking paper is attached at Tab F.

*Added it as a memo for me to file*

AUGUST 11, 1972

- 4 -

John Connally

Magruder met with John Connally for 2 1/2 hours with Peter Dailey and Bob Morgan on August 8 and 9. They reviewed the Democrats for Nixon ads that will appear next Wednesday, August 16. Magruder and Dailey have been advised that you want to see the advertisements before they are submitted to Connally so that you are not in the position of reviewing materials already approved by Connally.

*Right*  
*True*  
*Calder confirms*  
*she is*  
There will be a direct mailing on Monday, August 14 if the text is approved by Connally. According to Magruder, Connally became somewhat upset when a "hassle over the budget" for Democrats for Nixon developed with Stans. Connally called Magruder and demanded a memorandum in writing from Stans stating that 1701 would pay for the mailing in the approximate amount of 1,000. The sum is large and to be negotiated but is not an increase in the campaign budget. Rather, the mailing will be part of the revised mailing plan to ethnic Democrats. Magruder obtained the memorandum, and Connally asked that Magruder be his prime contact at 1701.

*OK. Good*  
*I should talk to Mag re this*  
Committee for the Re-Election of the President

Jeb Magruder's Projects

1) Advertising

*OK*  
(a) Peter Dailey requests an opportunity to present the bulk of the "finished" newspaper, radio, and TV ads and commercials for the campaign. This presentation would also cover the November Group's "media plan" based on several possible budget decisions. Dailey will undoubtedly ask for your help in increasing the advertising budget within the campaign. The entire presentation would take two hours, with Peter Dailey, Phil Joanou, and Bill Taylor. On Tuesday, August 15 the President is tentatively scheduled to meet with the CIEP at 11:15 a.m. for 45 minutes and other miscellaneous appointments until 12:30 p.m. The presentation would be given in your office or in the Roosevelt Room.

*party have to be at 10*

000582



AUGUST 11, 1972

- 5 -

Recommendation:

2 Schedule Tuesday, August 15 at 11:15 a.m. in:

Haldeman's Office \_\_\_\_\_

Roosevelt Room \_\_\_\_\_ *L*

\_\_\_\_\_ Re-schedule

\_\_\_\_\_ Other

(b) Before you see the presentation, Chapin recommends a preview with comments by himself, Buchanan, Moore, Sarment, Price, and Dent. ~~Kehrl~~, as a JWT alumnus, wants to attend but was not suggested by Chapin. The preview would be Monday night, August 14.

Recommendation:

Preview with suggested list:

Approve *✓* *L*

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Other \_\_\_\_\_

(c) You indicated after the last Dailey meeting on June 2 that you only wanted to have the advertising materials presented to the Ehrlichman Political Group just before everything became final to prevent against any overlooked mistake. Dailey's "finished" advertising presentation is probably what you want Ehrlichman's Political Group to see.

*Problem - revealed on file*  
*✓* Schedule Dailey's advertising presentation for Ehrlichman's Political Group, Thursday, August 17.

\_\_\_\_\_ Ehrlichman's Political Group need not see the advertising now.

*They should see it*  
\_\_\_\_\_ Other.

000583

AUGUST 11, 1972

- 6 -

2) Youth

✓ On August 8 MacGregor signed off on two Rietz reports to the President on the Young Voters Campaign and Convention Program. They are attached at Tab G and have not been submitted to Kehrli for the President because of the one hour meeting of Rietz group with the President on August 4. According to Rietz, many of the subjects were covered personally with the President.

*No need to submit*

3) Strategy

Bob Marik, who heads the research and planning division at 1701, has prepared three documents outlining the campaign strategy on a priority state basis. Marik was recruited by Malek 18 months ago and has been involved in all the major planning and decisions at 1701.

You are familiar with the Key State determinations, the resource allocations, and Malek's field organization. In spite of their length, they are attached for your review because they will be implemented by Magruder and Malek unless you object. If you do not want to review all three, I strongly recommend you read the five page summary entitled "Overall Campaign Strategy". All of this material is attached at Tab H.

4) Clark MacGregor

*GS very close to him.*

*good* (a) Bob Reisner, Magruder's aide for the last year, is now managing MacGregor's office and discovering "lost" memoranda. I reviewed with him all pending items and a report to you has been submitted.

*No* (b) On August 1, MacGregor informed Malek, Magruder, Shumway, and Abrams that "no one but I (MacGregor) will talk to any hostile reporter or any reporter from a historically hostile newspaper or magazine". However, MacGregor directed the four to "do all that is reasonably possible to give background information to friendly reporters". This directive has been extended to Bob Teeter who will be interviewed by a Life reporter in the near future.

*Go Teeter  
8/14  
Go JSM  
8/14*

*absolutely not  
Life is hostile + falls  
under the rule*

000584

5) Negative Activities

G-7 JSM  
8/14

(a) Ed Failor has submitted a proposal to MacGregor establishing a Truth Squad for the campaign. Participants are not suggested, but in light of the President's interest in Truth Squads you may want to review the proposal attached at Tab I. *I am opposed to the*

*Truth Squad idea + understand it is not long*

(b) You have asked Higby to obtain better (i.e. non-public) intelligence on McGovern's schedule. Higby *informed* has asked Magruder to have any derogatory information on Shriver in Chicago uncovered. The question is what level of pursuit you want placed on these projects. Ed Failor, who developed the eventually cancelled plans for the Democratic Convention and Telethon problems, has investigator and reporter contacts, who can obtain information reliably and legally, for reasonable amounts of money. The question is whether this avenue should be pursued. If so, the details should be covered orally. *Reginald*  
*Consett*  
*per JSM*  
*8/14*

Recommendation:

☐ Drop project.

☒ Discuss with Strachan.

\_\_\_\_ Other.

Fred Malek's Projects

1) ☒ Malek travelled with MacGregor to California and Texas this week.

2) ☒ Bill Clemments has been designated as the new Texas co-Chairman of the President's re-election. Clemments is President and Chief Executive Officer and Chairman of the Board of Regents of Southern Methodist University.

3)

☒ Al Haig called Reagan during the meeting to say that the review of Reagan's trip abroad with the President had been tentatively scheduled for August 18. After a brief review of the trip, Reagan will

000585

AUGUST 11, 1972

- 8 -

want to discuss the California political situation. He admits the problems in Orange and San Diego counties but is not as discouraged as Malek and MacGregor.

✓ 4) Malek reports that John Mitchell checked the News Summary story about the New York Conservative Party problems and there is no problem there.

5) Malek remains undeterred by your comments of his dispute with Colson over the advisability of registering military voters. Malek adamantly claims he is right.

Galt  
PUW/PM

✓  
L. W. [unclear]  
to MacGregor.

000586

SEPTEMBER 18, 1972

Copy # 1 of 2

Good job

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN S

SUBJECT:

Political Matters

Finances

The Budget Committee (MacGregor, Stans, Evans, Magruder, Malek, Odle, LaRue, Barrick, and Reisner) met September 6 and 14 to review campaign expenditures. Stans' analysis was rather pessimistic, noting several of the expenditures exceeded budget allocations. The group decided to establish a hiring freeze at 1701, with a total of 422, of which approximately 40% are professional and 60% are support.

Stans noted that receipts were not coming in as quickly as expected. He attributed this to the substantial amount of time he has had to spend on the Watergate Caper. Stans said he could not personally contact all the people who have committed but not delivered. Only Kalmbach could help him out successfully. MacGregor talked with Kalmbach, who is beginning to help more, according to Tom Evans.

MacGregor will try to increase the states' contributions by use of a Stans prepared quota chart. The states that are a real problem are Ohio - where Spence Shore, the State Republican Finance Chairman, has incurred Stans' vengeful wrath; Indiana - where nothing has been raised; and Pennsylvania - which had been bogged down by initial organizational problems.

The advertising budget remains the main point of contention between Stans and the rest of 1701. Stans approved the minimal budget of 3,406, indicating he might eventually approve 6,300. Dailey had requested 11,200.

The summary of the campaign budget is at Tab A.

000629

Harry Dent

1) The State Republican and Nixon organizations are on "cloud 119" as a result of the briefings and Presidential reception. They will need no more "attention" before November 7, according to Dent.

2) The RNC is "in better shape today" than it has been in a long time. Tom Evans and Barry Mountain have established tight financial controls. The RNC does a substantial amount of high quality research and back-up work for 1701, according to Dent. Dent admits Tom Evans still has ego problems, but he is basically doing a good managerial job.

3) While talking with the President, Dent raised the question of audio and visual endorsements by the President for local candidates. According to Dent, the President indicated he would consider these in the last three weeks of the campaign. Dent believes the President's coattails will not be that helpful in Senate and House races. He urges a careful use of money in the races selected in his September 5 memorandum, which you reviewed and said "hold".

4) Dent recommends we do "something" with Stans. He believes the latest disclosures damage Stans beyond repair as a fundraiser. To pick up the slack in fundraising, Dent again urges use of Lee Nunn and John Rollins, who has left for Europe to sit out the election because he has been given no assignment. Stans' wife is ill and could be used as an excuse for his departure.

5) The Brad Hainsworth analyses of Nevada, Georgia, Wyoming, and Oklahoma indicate the President will carry all four states handily.

John Connally

Magruder continues to be Connally's prime staff contact at 1701. He reviews advertising, direct mail, and general matters with Connally about twice a week. On September 14 he reviewed the DFN spots and Connally 5-minute tapes. Magruder says his relationship with Connally is excellent. Magruder mainly tries to keep Stans away from him and works with Leonard Marx on financial details.

However, as indicated by the confusion surrounding the Connally 5-minute spot and the Mutual Broadcasting radio response, you should talk to Magruder about Connally and the best way to handle staffing matters. To facilitate

000630

follow-up, it would be helpful if I were "on" the call. A talking paper is attached at Tab B.

Murray Chotiner

1) His primary responsibility in the campaign continues to be ballot security (protection against vote fraud). He works with his full and parttime field men independently and does not report to MacGregor through Malek or Magruder. Malek says that the problem areas are budgets, Texas, Indiana, and Illinois. The subject will not become critical for another three weeks according to Malek. At that time Malek expects Chotiner to be cooperative and responsive.

2) Chotiner is occasionally quite critical of 1701 activities. Most recently he lectured me on the poor messenger service when he wanted to deliver Chapman's Friend reports. Rob Odle, who is in charge of administration at 1701, has directed the staff to provide priority treatment to Chotiner.

3) Chotiner sends periodic suggestions for attack, which I usually raise in the Colson 9:15 attack meeting without indicating the source of the suggestion.

4) Chotiner has heard that certain Senatorial candidates are saying that the Administration is not concerned with their elections. They are complaining that money is not being sent to their campaigns. I did not tell Chotiner of the current project recommending assistance to certain Senate campaigns.

Tom Evans

He believes the briefings and reception last week had a very positive effect on the RNC. He said the DFN TV commercials were particularly well received. The briefings by Haig and Ehrlichman were "terrific". He is also now quite pleased with Malek's activities in bridging the RNC-1701 breach.

000631

Len Garment

The Professors for the Re-Election of the President project is elaborately described in Paul Weaver's memorandum which is attached at Tab C. To summarize, Garment has 12-20 active intellectuals and academics "of quality". The full list will be 40-50. The purpose is to achieve press coverage similar to the Commentary article and release of the survey showing support for the President. There is no ambitious plan to get "hundreds of academics for the President" because there is no money in Chuck Shearer's Citizens budgets and because Garment doesn't believe a large organization would be very productive. The 40-50 prominent academics will sign a newspaper ad in mid-October which fits within the 1701 advertising budget.

In addition, the group is seeking a closer relationship with the Administration both personally and politically in anticipation of being more helpful during the Second Nixon Administration.

Committee for the Re-Election of the President

Jeb Magruder's Projects

1) Advertising - Clark MacGregor sent the formal letters to the Nixon State Chairmen authorizing local candidate use of 300 of the President's media expenditure permitted by the campaign spending legislation. Because of the probable decrease in the President's expected media expenditures, the question of whether the local candidates should be authorized more is being discussed within 1701. Some of the candidates for the Senate will undoubtedly seek additional "joint advertising" in order to be more closely identified with the President. Currently, the "media certificates" are sent to the Nixon State Chairmen. Malek has been advised that it may become necessary to authorize Senate candidates directly. Dailey is prepared to work with the Senate candidates' media advisers. MacGregor will meet Friday, September 22 to review the Senate and House races with Timmons, Anderson, Dent, Teeter, and Flemming.

000632



The Vice President has neither been briefed on the advertising strategy by Dailey nor reviewed all the materials. Dailey mentioned that in his meeting Friday with the President and you that the subject of the Vice President and advertising was raised. The question is whether Dailey should now review the advertising with the Vice President.

H Yes, Vice President see ads. *if he wants to*  
 No, Vice President see ads later. *Goodeale 9/25*

2) Direct Mail

(a) The 5,000 budget has been reduced 10%. The reduction will be implemented by sending 500,000 of the 3,200,000 mailing to Democrats in California out through unions which want to urge their membership to vote for Nixon. Also, the planned mailing to 560,000 high and middle income voters in Cook County has been dropped in favor of an expanded mailing in Michigan.

(b) MacGregor decided that in spite of your reservations, Senator Percy should sign some of the 1701 mailings in Illinois. In exchange, MacGregor has sent a letter to 1,200 Illinois County officials supporting Percy.

(c) 1701 will send a letter to all Republicans in California and New Jersey shortly after October 1. Governor Reagan will sign the California letter, but Senator Case and Governor Cahill will not sign the New Jersey letter. MacGregor will sign the New Jersey letter. Contributions are solicited in both letters.

(d) Max Fisher has convinced MacGregor to send letters to the Jewish communities in Cook County, Illinois; California; New Jersey; and Pennsylvania under the pseudonym "Concerned Citizens for the Re-Election of the President". Funds are solicited and a variety of signatures will be used. They will be mailed after October 1.

(e) Jen0 Paulucci is sending 6,000 very strong personal letters to the food industry pointing out McGovern's inconsistencies. After October 1, 25,000 DFN letters will be sent by Paulucci.

000633

3) Legal

(a) Glenn Sedam has updated the analysis of the Presidential ballot in each state. The state by state summary is at Tab D. Schmitz is not on the ballot in D.C., Hawaii, Indiana, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Nevada, South Dakota, and West Virginia. He will probably not be on the ballot in Georgia, Missouri, and New York. Schmitz may take Wallace's place on the New Jersey ballot if Wallace declines by September 28. You may want to have the high level Wallace contact advise Wallace that he must decline ballot position in New Jersey in writing.

(b) Sedam did most of the legal work for Senator Dole's charges of McGovern fundraising violations, CAB controversies, and the Common Cause suit against the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

(c) Sedam has also done the basic legal work on the filings with GAO by our committees. He has been unfairly criticized for delay by Colson. The sheer volume of materials is enough to inundate anyone. In addition, Sedam has prepared an analysis of the McGovern filing errors which will form the basis of a MacGregor/Dole attack.

(d) Colson, through Bill Rhatican, asked Glenn Sedam to form front committees for Veterans and Labor use. Sedam gave MacGregor a legal opinion indicating these would be in violation of the new law if more than \$1,000 were expended. MacGregor advised Colson by memorandum.

(e) Sedam has advised MacGregor that the Youth Against McGovern materials and activities must be disowned by 1701 to avoid violating the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. Sedam did this by letter to Youth Against McGovern and Phillip Hughes of GAO.

(f) Timmons sought a legal opinion on the use by a Senate candidate of a film clip of himself with the President. Sedam advised him of the joint advertising budget and the current practice of relying on the decision of local media owner.

000634

4) Attack - Ed Failor prepares weekly a series of press releases for Republican candidates for the House and Senate. Each of the statements is tailored in three formats:

- (a) The opponent has not taken a stand on whether he supports McGovern;
- (b) The opponent has endorsed McGovern; and
- (c) The opponent has announced against McGovern.

The response has been very favorable and Failor will increase the mailings to two per week. Also, resource/research information on McGovern statements and positions will be included.

5) Clark MacGregor has approved Ed Nixon's endorsement of certain State candidates and certain fundraising events.

6) MacGregor forwarded a John Bucci & Associates survey which shows the President leading McGovern 55-45 in Philadelphia. The survey has been sent to Benham.

7) Bob Teeter prepared an analysis of the Older Voters with suggested Presidential appearances for MacGregor. It is attached at Tab E. A copy has not been sent to Chapin.

#### Fred Malek's Projects

1) Field Operations - Malek made a field trip last week into the two biggest problem states -- New York and Pennsylvania. He estimates that in New York there will only be 40% performance and in Pennsylvania only 60% with Ohio as the 100% performance example. Al Kaupinen is Malek's field man in Illinois and Malek is confident he is performing well. Kaupinen warns against over-confidence on Illinois though because Mayor Daley must elect Hanrahan as State Attorney to protect against a thorough investigation of Chicago. This will force Daley to turn out his organization which is not sophisticated enough to vote for Nixon and Hanrahan. He will continue to push the organizations and will add field people in New York and Pennsylvania, but the basic split between the Rockefeller

000635

SEPTEMBER 18, 1972

- 8 -

*Sam  
get Mitch  
into this*

and Republican organizations in New York will continue to hamper success. Texas is also a major problem state and Malek has not succeeded in working out solutions. California and New Jersey are doing well. Malek will submit an updated analysis of progress in the field area.

2) The Voter Canvass on Saturday, September 16 was directed by Jerry Jones and Fred Karam. Malek is quite pleased with their performance as well as the field organization in general. A report updating with detailed figures the Saturday, September 16 report will be submitted by Malek.

3) Fred LaRue advises Malek on political matters and occasionally attends meetings with Malek. LaRue is in the role of observer for Mitchell. LaRue reports that Mitchell has no detail or procedural problems at 1701. LaRue also notes that the relations between 1701 and the White House are considerably better though he doubts the effectiveness of the Colson 9:15 meeting. LaRue believes the telephone operation will be the most effective get-out-the-vote method and if budget cuts are made they should not be made in this area. LaRue would not comment on the Blount race in Alabama.

4) The Citizens Groups are not as effective as Malek had hoped. The National Executive Director, Charles Shearer, has submitted a report to MacGregor (attached at Tab F). The structure is organizationally oriented with names and numbers but little actual work, according to Malek.

5) Malek is pleased with the resolution of the Ehrlichman, Morgan, Whitaker, Dent field operation. He is not gloating, but is not as negative about the poor initial handling as he was two weeks ago.

000636

ATTACHMENT TO SEPTEMBER 18, 1972 MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL/SENSITIVE

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Budget - Post April 7

R. C. Odle, Jr., September 13, 1972

<u>Division</u>	<u>Responsibility</u>	<u>Budget</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Administration	Odle	\$ 594,000	Basically salaries and payroll burden for campaign director's office, deputy director, administrative personnel, counsel, security, correspondence, and personnel units, etc. Includes payroll burden.
Advertising	Dailey	\$ 6,293,000	Represents total cost of November Group to Re-elected Committee -- media costs, salaries, overhead, etc.
Campaign Materials	Dailey/Malek	\$ 2,200,000	Includes \$200,000 for voter bloc materials.
Candidate Support	Magruder/Malek	\$ 1,347,000	Represents White House Support account: Presidential and First Family travel, White House mailing program, etc. Vice Presidential travel and advance for President and Vice President also to be charged to this account.
Citizens and voter bloc groups	Malek	\$ 2,154,000	Entire cost of all citizens groups and voter blocs. Voter bloc materials included under "campaign materials."
Convention	Timmons	\$ 476,000	Covers 1701 and White House participation in convention. Could run higher, but Timmons/Barrick are determining what costs may be charged to RNC and various voter blocs.
Executive	Failor	\$ 93,000	Primarily salaries and payroll burden for Failor operation and other special assistants.
Finance Committee	Stans/Barrick	\$ 865,000	Office costs covered under "Office Administration."
Office Administration	Odle	\$ 1,126,000	Rents, telephones, furniture, office equipment, office supplies, postage, messenger service, autos typewriters, xerox equipment, leasehold improvements, etc., for all divisions.
Political Division	Malek	\$ 781,000	Salaries, payroll burden, travel, etc. Also includes voter registration materials.
Polling	Teeter	\$ 790,000	Firm estimate based on what has been approved.
Press Office	Abrahams	\$ 740,000	Salaries, payroll burden, publications, programs.
Research and Planning, Direct Mail and Telephone Operations	Marik	\$ 7,285,000	\$4,990,000 for direct mail, \$1,900,000 for telephone operations, \$180,000 for computer maps, Compass Systems, data processing, balance for salaries, travel, payroll burden.
Scheduling	Porter	\$ 260,000	Scheduling of all surrogates, celebrities, athletes, American Music; payroll, etc.
State Support	Malek	\$ 11,500,000	State re-elect committees costs.
Tour Office	Foust	\$ 974,000	All advance and tour office costs: most funds for travel of surrogates and advance men. Women's surrogate program also charged against this account (to cost \$100,000).
<b>SUB-TOTAL</b>		<b>\$ 37,478,000</b>	
Funds spent prior to April 7 by all Divisions		\$ 3,110,000	Does not include pre-payments
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$ 40,588,000</b>	Increase over \$40 million due to fixed costs in Administration and Office Administration.

000638

